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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1871**

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17 April 1981

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GROUND FORCES COMMANDER INTERVIEWED ON MILITARY TRENDS, MISSIONS

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 20 Feb 81 pp 5-6

[Holger Arnhold interview with Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister for national defense; chief, Ground Forces, National People's Army (NVA): "Combat Ready at All Times--This Decision Is Made by the Soldier in Alliance With Technology--How the Members of the Ground Forces Accomplish Their Class Mission"]

[Text] Biographical sketch. Col Gen Horst Stechbarth was born on 13 April 1925. He was employed in agriculture and since 1949 has been participating in the buildup and development of our armed forces. He acquired knowledge for his leading activity in the National People's Army among other things by attending the General Staff Academy USSR. Comrade Stechbarth was elected Central Committee membership candidate at the Ninth SED Party Congress and he has been a full member of that committee since the Eighth Conference in 1978. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the NVA [National People's Army] he was awarded the GDR's highest military decoration, the Scharnhorst Order. Colonel General Stechbarth also wears the Golden Fatherland Order of Merit, the "Banner of Labor" Order, and the honorary title "Meritorious Member of the NVA." He is married and has three children. One of his sons is studying for a career in the ground forces as officer candidate.

[Question] Our letters to the editor indicate the high esteem which the people have for the service being rendered by ground forces personnel. Here and there, those letters even contain hints from parents to the effect that their own son is serving in that component of the armed forces. What is the cause of this great significance of ground forces in the era of supersonic aircraft and rockets?

[Answer] Every armed forces component performs specific functions and in doing so they all work closely together. The ground forces play an important role in providing reliable protection for socialist gains also under the conditions of a modern military establishment. With their main striking body--the motorized rifle-men and armored units, supported by the rocket units and artillery, the unit AA detachments, the Engineers and the CW units--they complete victory over the enemy, they wipe him out in a meeting engagement or in his position. To do that, they have weapons ranging from submachine guns to rockets, including the necessary armament and equipment which are constantly being perfected.

The "Arms Comradeship 80" maneuvers, the most significant military-policy high point prior to the tenth SED party congress, again showed how the ground forces of all participating brother armies, in cooperation with the air forces and air defense and in the coastal sector, together with naval forces, successfully accomplish complicated combat assignments.

[Question] Many people still think of this in terms of the old "footsloggers or beetle crushers." Is there still anything to that?

[Answer] That concept is long outdated. Infantrymen have become motorized riflemen. Equipped with modern amphibious and cross-country APCs and AFVs, they fight mounted and effectively use their weapons from their fighting compartments. No motorized rifleman can today get along without mansided military and technical knowledge. The driver and commander of an AFV are well-trained technical specialists. The gunner must have a mastery of three weapons with widely differing properties: the gun, the turret MG, and the guided AT rocket. When necessary, every motorized rifleman can take the place of the man next to him, can help the driver in the maintenance, care, or repair of the fighting vehicle.

Of course, this does not mean that the motorized riflemen are only being driven around. In modern combat it will depend on the developing situation whether the attack is to be carried out dismounted or mounted. Positions must also be built for personnel and equipment and this is why hikes are also a part of the training of motorized riflemen and in other arms of the service; the rifleman cannot get along with his entrenching tool today either. Every young man should therefore, prior to his military service, develop a high level of physical capacity through athletic training.

As in the case of the motorized riflemen, the armament and combat equipment of the NVA ground forces during every phase of their development corresponded to the particular requirements for the protection of socialism thanks to the constant care of the GDR party and government leadership and the efforts of the workers of our republic in material production. Today, for example, the motorization rate of the ground forces comes to more than 50 hp per man.

Paying tribute to this development at the same time means expressing your thanks to our Soviet comrades, to the designers and scientists who developed this modern armament and combat equipment, to the workers that built them but also to our Soviet comrades in arms who at all times helped us through advice and action in rapidly developing the skill to operate that equipment.

[Question] Does our enormous technical development not restrict the usual leeway for personal initiative?

[Answer] On the contrary. The more complicated the equipment, the higher the requirements for the individual. If we do not think then we are not going to get anywhere and the responsibility of the individual and of small teams for the accomplishment of the combat assignment and for the other, ever greater material and financial assets, keeps growing. Complicated weapons systems demand smooth cooperation by crew members and operating personnel and everybody must be able to rely on the next fellow. Firm discipline and exactitude are just as much a part of this as excellent

technical knowledge. Initiative is demanded directly, when it comes to moving the launch ramp or the gun into position and getting it ready for firing even faster, when it comes to helping the fellow next to you, when it comes to learning in the technical group, when it comes to looking for more efficient training methods or aids, but above all in the perfection of your own knowledge and skills. In the daily struggle to achieve high results in political and military training, the initiative of army personnel is a firm component of the plan.

[Question] Are draftees used in keeping with their civilian occupations? For example, will a radio mechanic be used as radio operator or a cook as a cook?

[Answer] Of course we try to make use of skills acquired in the job world in order to achieve a rapid and great increase in fighting strength and combat readiness. Thus we will fill the slots in the communications units, in the motor vehicle, tank, and artillery workshops, in the supply units, and in many other special fields with corresponding skilled workers and men from related occupations because they can rapidly adjust to their new assignments on the basis of their job knowledge and skills.

[Question] What occupations or skills can career NCOs acquire in the ground forces?

[Answer] A ground forces career NCO must, after attending a NCO school and after between 2 and 2-1/2 years of unit service, go through a career NCO training course. His basic and advanced training enables him to lead military units and to perform the most varied specialist functions, for example, as maintenance technical sergeant in a motorized rifle company or in the care and maintenance of our weapons and combat equipment. The ensign's skill level corresponds to the level of a technical school graduate. During his basic and advanced training, the career NCO can earn the government-recognized foreman diploma as organizational supervisor, as BMSR [industrial measuring, control, and regulating technology] equipment supervisor, as electronics supervisor, as motor vehicle repair supervisor or as precision mechanics supervisor.

[Question] Starting in 1983, the training program at the officer colleges will run for 4 years. How did that come about?

[Answer] More efficient and at the same time increasingly technically expensive armament and combat equipment, more complicated conditions for the organization of cooperation among the most varied arms of the service, specialized units, and support units on the battlefield, higher requirements for effective and intensive combat training and, last but not least, new criteria for political and military leadership of units--all of these demand higher political, military, and technical education for commanders and all officers for that matter. New requirements arise from the higher level of awareness and the higher educational level of draftees and from cooperation with our comrades in arms which for example calls for a mastery of the Russian language, the command language in the Warsaw Pact.

Standardized educational and command principles and the extensively uniform armament and equipment of the armies within the Warsaw Pact also call for standardized forms of skill development. In order to be able to develop such socialist officers, we must extend our training by one year and finish the whole thing off with a diploma.

[Question] Are there any employment opportunities in the NVA for women likewise?

[Answer] Female army personnel perform their duties on a high quality and reliability level, side by side with their male comrades, in numerous duty assignments at headquarters, in communications units, in the supply and medical facilities of the ground forces. They did a great job in constantly guaranteeing a high level of combat strength and combat readiness. We will also have to figure out ways in which to increase the employment opportunities for women in our component of the armed forces.

[Question] What does it mean for ground forces personnel to be constantly combat ready?

[Answer] NATO, the military power instrument of the most aggressive imperialist forces, has concentrated the strongest imperialist fighting force grouping of the world in Central Europe. On the soil of the FRG alone they have, in addition to the almost 500,000 men of the West German Armed Forces, also about 400,000 personnel from other NATO armies. These units, with their modern equipment and their anti-communist education are not idle. According to the concept of so-called "forward defense," they are training to hit the ground running in mounting the attack. Within just a few hours, the NATO divisions can be deployed along the international boundary with the GDR.

This is why a high level of combat readiness, as far as ground forces personnel are concerned, means being ready at all times and under all conditions to beat off an imperialist aggression side by side with our comrades in arms. That includes strong socialist convictions as well as a high training level. That demands constantly action-ready armament and combat equipment as well as ceaseless training in those functions and operations which are necessary in case of a combat alert because today a modern tank can cover a distance of about 300-500 m in 30 seconds while a combat aircraft can cover as much as 16-21 km.

An AA rocket gunner in the NVA for example must therefore be able to perform at least ten thinking or action functions within a matter of seconds in order to engage an airborne target. A high combat readiness level however also means that only a certain percentage of the army personnel may at any particular moment be on leave or on pass.

[Question] There have been many questions concerning the use of tanks. One reader expressed it rather drastically: Considering the tremendous development of AT weapons, are not our tanks big targets, like the side of a barn?

[Answer] Tanks are still the main striking force of our ground forces. They combine excellent protective qualities with high mobility and great firepower. The outstanding performance parameters of the new Soviet tanks, with which the NVA ground forces are also equipped, successfully continue to be traditions of Soviet tank design which were begun with the famous T-34.

The designers are constantly working to reduce the size of the tank silhouette, to develop the armor plating from ever stronger material, and to create additional mechanisms, such as nuclear weapons protection as well as firefighting and smoke-



screen systems. Modern range finder and sight equipment as well as stabilized, long-range guns make it possible quickly to pick up targets and to wipe them out from the move with high accuracy. The prerequisite for this is a high crew training level. The crew must be able properly to exploit the fast speed of the tank as well as the terrain; the crew must be able quickly to spot targets and to engage them at maximum range with the very first shell. It is above all the skill of the commander that will make it possible quickly to recognize enemy AT weapons and to neutralize them by using our own weapons such as, for example, attack helicopters, rocket units and artillery as well as the heavy weapons of the motorized rifle units.

[Question] Many readers have expressed their worry about the arms race and the adventurous nature of imperialism. What about the military balance of power?

[Answer] The leading representatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact repeatedly said that the community of socialist states will do everything in order at all times to guarantee its defense capability on the required level. The intention of NATO to alter the existing approximate strategic balance of forces, in order to achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Pact, must be frustrated.

This goal is served by the military policy of the SED which is aimed at the further perfection of socialist national defense, at the communist education and excellent military training of armed forces personnel, at the further equipment of the NVA with modern arms and combat equipment, and at the in-depth development of the unalterable arms comradeship with the Soviet Army and the other socialist brother armies.

The countless activities of ground forces personnel in the struggle for exemplary accomplishment of the military class mission also serve the goal of preventing the military superiority of NATO.

[Question] Could you mention some special initiatives by army personnel in preparation for the Tenth Party Congress?

[Answer] Socialist competition in preparation for the Tenth SED Party Congress in the ground forces is aimed at above-average performance in political and combat training. As in the NVA on the whole, it is guided by the slogan "For High Combat Readiness! Everything for the Welfare of the People!" A comprehensive pledge movement guides our personnel especially toward the struggle to achieve the title of "best performer" for individual army personnel and entire teams. The initiative for the "Hit With the First Round or the First Burst or the First Shell or Rocket" --launched by the FDJ [Free German Youth] members of the ground forces--takes up broad space here. This movement specifically orients our personnel toward peak performances and thus corresponds to the high requirements of modern military activities. But the competition movement under the title "Tank/Motor Vehicle of Excellent Quality," "I Drive the Cheapest Kilometer," and "Master of Norms" likewise leads to measurable results.

Many hundreds of innovators and their teams often also, together with the Soviet partner units, aim their efforts particularly at further rationalizing combat training; 46 percent of all innovator proposals during the last training year were concerned with combat training.

Through their specific contributions to logistics supply, the civilian employees of the NVA are firmly by the side of the army personnel in the struggle to achieve high combat strength and combat readiness. Their initiative on the occasion of the Tenth Party Congress is particularly aimed at improving the quality but also the effective utilization of material resources, including fuel and electric energy.

[Question] The labor unions also feel responsible for protecting socialism. Do you perhaps have any tips to give to the BGL [plant labor union executive board] chairmen as to what they should be looking out for in connection with defense-oriented education in the various collectives?

[Answer] The education of steadfast defenders of socialism indeed does not begin on the day of induction. A strong class consciousness, love of the socialist homeland, confidence in the policy of the party of the working class, a pronounced internationalist attitude but also the effort to perfect your own knowledge constantly --such attitudes are shaped already at home, in the schools, during apprenticeship, but especially in the work collectives. The person who imparted the correct attitude toward work in his group on the job, the person who was educated in being orderly, accurate, punctual, and reliable, will be able to get along well with military discipline and order. Independence, modesty, honesty, and a spirit of comradeship but also a certain ability to withstand physical and mental stress are important prerequisites for military service.

[Question] The fighting strength of the NVA rests to a by no means minor extent on close arms comradeship with personnel of the GSSD [Group of Soviet Forces in Germany]. Are there any plans for any special high points during "Arms Brotherhood Week?"

[Answer] "Arms Brotherhood Week" is held annually through a central event alternating in a unit of the Soviet army and the NVA. Other high points are the joint measures in all units of the ground forces together with their Soviet partner units. The emphasis here is on military, sports, and cultural performance comparisons, meets of specialists, political officers and youth functionaries, forums and exchange of case officers but also social gatherings with the Soviet comrades and their dependents.

This busy cooperation however is not confined to "Arms Brotherhood Week." Instead it is being extended over the entire year according to precisely coordinated plans. Joint combat training, often in mixed groups, as well as crews, takes up much space here.

[Question] In the USSR they have the Suvorov military schools. Why did we dissolve our cadet schools?

[Answer] The cadet schools have accomplished their mission through the further development of the uniform socialist education system in the GDR. Officer candidates in the NVA today have the following three development routes: First of all, high school graduation; second, high school graduation with vocational training; and, third, graduation from the ten-class school, vocational training followed by a college preparatory training course.

[Question] One reader would like to know whether reservists could not be recalled more regularly?

[Answer] We are trying to recall reservists with a certain degree of regularity. That of course in each case depends on the specific assignments to be accomplished and on the training activities.

[Question] Comrade Colonel General, allow us to ask you several questions now on your personal career. When did you join the armed forces? Did you come up through the ranks?

[Answer] I became a member of what at that time was the border police on 1 March 1949. Of course I had no way of knowing that this would become the day our NVA would be founded 7 years later. But I owe it to that coincidence that I can celebrate a very personal anniversary on the "Day of the National People's Army."

I worked on all command echelons in the ground forces from private, squad and platoon leader, via company commander, regimental and division commander, all the way to commander of a military district. Besides, I was active in the most varied duty stations connected with combat training. That helped me a lot in performing my present duty assignment which I have held since 1972. But regardless of what position I held, I always felt the guiding and leading hand of the party of the working class and of the older and more experienced communists who were given the job of building up our armed forces. I will never forget the many Soviet comrades who stood by me with their advice, their experience, and their effective assistance.

[Question] How do you keep up to date in your field?

[Answer] I believe that the most important thing in my specialized field is to help, through my work, in constantly implementing the military policy of the SED. This is why a thorough study of its resolutions is the most important thing for me.

I get important ideas for my activity by participating in the conferences of the SED Central Committee and the collegium of the National Defense Ministry. Rapid progress in all fields of political and military life call for thorough familiarity with the latest discoveries of Soviet military science and our own experiences. In addition to my own independent study, I above all fall back here on an exchange of experience with Soviet comrades, to whom I am linked not only in terms of duty but also through many personal contacts.

Of course, I must also attend training courses to expand my knowledge. Other indispensable activities for me consist of conferences and discussions with my deputies, with unit commanders and specialists in the various arms of the service, special units and service units, with NCOs and enlisted men.

[Question] Many readers know you as the commander of the NVA honor parades. Do you get butterflies in your stomach on those occasions?

[Answer] The honor parades of our NVA before the GDR party and government leadership, before high foreign visitors, before the people of Berlin and their guests are high points in the life of our NVA. They demonstrate to all the world the defense determination and defense capability of our socialist state, the close bonds between the party, the people, and the army. The person commanding such a parade has a high



responsibility and I admit that I get somewhat restless everytime. I do not know whether you could call that butterflies in the stomach. But I can always be sure that all parade participants have prepared themselves excellently and that their weapons and combat equipment are at their best. Nevertheless, I always feel greatly relieved after everything has come off smoothly.

[Question] You certainly do not have much spare time. But can you nevertheless pursue a hobby?

[Answer] During my spare time I read, I tinker, and I love to build things. Time permitting, I go hunting because that is where I find relaxation and recreation.

[Question] What is your primary mission as commander of the ground forces?

[Answer] I discharge my responsibility by aiming my entire effort at accomplishing the mission assigned by the party of the working class and the tasks assigned by the military high command. The goal here is to keep the combat readiness of the ground forces at such a level and constantly to perfect them in such a manner that they will, in cooperation with the other components and side by side with the comrades in arms, at any time be able to accomplish the military class mission. That is my most important party assignment, that is the decisive criterion of my work and the work of all of us. In this effort I can rely on an experienced and skilled group of aides.

I want to thank the readers of TRIBUNE for their great interest in the problems of the military protection of our republic which was expressed in numerous questions. Above all I want to thank them for the many expression of respect and confidence in the responsible work of army personnel and civilian employees in the ground forces. Unfortunately I was unable to answer all questions because there was not enough space.

I would therefore in this fashion like to express my sincere thanks to the people who have sent in their letters and extend special greetings to all former personnel of the ground forces, to the reservists, and all those whose sons, grandsons, and husbands at all times perform their honorable duty in our component as well as all those others who are currently preparing for military service in the ground forces.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FEBRUARY 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 81 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36, No 2, February 1981, signed to press 12 January 1981, pp 97-207: "Safe Protection of Socialism." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The SED's military policy and the GDR armed forces will also in the future reliably guarantee that we can unwaveringly and successfully continue to follow our time-tested path at the side of the USSR, in alliance with Europe's socialist countries. This is stated by Army General Heinz Hoffmann in an article, titled, "The National People's Army--A Modern Socialist Defense Force," published by EINHEIT in its February issue.

Several articles deal with the development of the National People's Army (NVA), founded 25 years ago. As Heinz Hoffmann points out, the NVA's mission is reliably to protect at all times our worker-peasant state, the vital interests of the workers class, peace and socialism. The author stresses that the unity of the people and army in our country has been able to develop and flourish because, for the first time in the history of the German people, armed forces have been established to preserve peace for the working people.

In 'The Topic' feature section, six authors expound their ideas about the relationship between economic productive capacity and conscious action. Otto Reinhold emphasizes that the quantitative and qualitative growth of our economy today more than ever depends on the political and ideological position and skill of the working people, on the development level of socialist democracy, and on the totality of working and living conditions.

In his article, "Growth of Performance--A High Demand on Party Work," Hans Modrow confirms that good preparation for the Tenth SED Congress primarily means adjusting oneself to the quickly rising standards, the accelerating dynamics of the national economic processes. The author turns against routine and mediocrity and in this context quotes Erich Honecker who declared in Gera: "Whoever wants the best for the Tenth Party Congress must now demand more from himself and from others."

CSO: 2300

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### ECONOMIC GROWTH CONSIDERED DEPENDENT ON IDEOLOGICAL STRENGTH

#### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 24, 13 Feb 81 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "SED Expects Social Problems as Result of Technical Development." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED expects social problems as a result of the continuing enforcement of scientific-technical progress and the accelerated rationalization of the GDR economy. The theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 2, 1981) in its most recent edition called it a "mistake" to assume that the processes connected with the development of science and technology, mainly with microelectronics, were proceeding "smoothly and without friction." It was "perfectly natural" that in this process fundamentally new problems and questions as well as contradictions arose and obstacles diverse in nature should have to be surmounted. Many a worker would thus have to change jobs, his occupation or his collective, his enterprise and at times even his place of residence, abandon what he is used to and get used to some new kind of work.

The journal in this connection also addressed the discussion in the enterprises in which "time and time again" the question has come up whether the job security as guaranteed by the SED did not contradict technical development. And in fact, so says EINHEIT, it was not "simple to give a practical answer to that question."

#### GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 105-113

['Economic Productive Capacity and Conscious Action' feature article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "Economy and Ideology in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] In the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, increasing importance attaches to the cooperation, conformity and interrelations among all public domains. The relationship between economy and ideology plays a special role in this. The article deals with our time-tested economic and social policy and the struggle between the two social systems; scientific-technical progress and ideology; and the development of the impulses of socialist society.

The shaping of the developed socialist society is a process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes embracing all domains of public life. The SED Program says about it: "The shaping of the developed socialist society requires a systematic high-level development of all advantages and impulses, aspects and domains of public life, the productive forces and production relations, the social and political relations, science and the educational system, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions as well as national defense. The developed socialist society presupposes the undivided domination of the socialist production relations."<sup>1</sup>

Practical experiences have in many ways confirmed that important observation. Economic growth and the advantages and possibilities of socialism on their current development level increasingly depend on the cooperation, conformity and dialectical interactions in all domains of public life. If any one of these domains lags behind--regardless of whether in the framework of the economy, in political organization or in ideology--it would adversely affect our economic growth, lead to contradictions and difficulties or might even become a source of social conflicts.

The proper relationship between our economy and ideology plays a special role in this. Socialism is the first society in the history of mankind that is organized consciously and according to plans. The construction of the developed socialist society creates internally all objective prerequisites for an unrestrained working of the economic and the other social laws of socialism.

Producing these objective socioeconomic prerequisites does, however, not automatically imply an unrestrained working of these laws. Nor does it mean that the advantages, impulses and possibilities of socialism are making themselves fully felt for the good of all the people in and by themselves, as it were. The GDR today--like most of the other socialist countries--owns a considerable material-technical and intellectual potential. Yet our stable and dynamic economic growth and the systematic elevation of our working people's level of prosperity do not simply arise from that prerequisite and are not assured by it alone. It is up to our party's proper economic strategy and policy, to an effective system of management, planning and economic stimulation, and to a massive conscious activity by the working people to turn that possibility into reality. Conscious action on the various levels of public life now plays an especially important role. An active attitude by the working people, controlled by a high-level socialist consciousness, is a decisive condition for making the advantages and impulses of socialism maximally effective.



The SED lets itself be guided in its policy by the realization of the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism that social existence determines social consciousness. Without stable and dynamic economic growth and its proper, effective intertwining with social policy, the meaning of socialism cannot be brought to realization and become practically perceptible for everyone. But this has a big and in many respects decisive influence on the consciousness and the political attitude of the working people, their social contentment, their identifying with the socialist order and, of course, also their willingness to perform, their social activity. It is in this sense that our party always pays special attention to its economic and social policy in its dialectical unity.

Yet it is equally clear that quantitative and qualitative economic growth depends more than ever today on the political and ideological attitude and the skill of the working people, the development level of socialist democracy, and the totality of working and living conditions.

Preparing a correct economic strategy, which will guarantee the continued successful shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR throughout the 1980's, has been and is without doubt an extremely responsible task. The most recent SED Central Committee sessions and Comrade Erich Honecker's speech before the party activists' group in Gera have thoroughly analyzed the conditions that have arisen for various reasons inside the GDR and within the international scope, and have drawn the necessary inferences from it. Based on a broad exchange of experiences and opinions, the SED Central Committee has done intensive and extensive theoretical work on that. To us it is understood that in this, an essential role attached to an analysis of the material conditions, the requirements and real possibilities for our social development, and the experiences of the Soviet Union and of the other countries in the socialist community. The Tenth SED Congress can be presented with an economic strategy for the next historic period that is scientifically sound and has been worked out on a broad democratic basis. Practical results in the fulfillment of the plan tasks for 1980 underscore that this strategic conception conforms to the requirements as well as possibilities of the years to come.

The centerpiece of this strategy is the inference that the time-tested policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy is systematically being carried on under the new conditions. This policy is of particular importance especially at present, due to internal and international exigencies. Yet what is also clear is that it can be carried on only if new qualitative sources of economic growth are being tapped for it. Our imperative economic growth is feasible today only through a stronger use of the qualitative growth factors.

The party's economic strategy accepts as a fact that the success of this policy depends on two fundamental factors: first, on the continued acceleration of scientific-technical progress and its practical, effective introduction in its whole breadth and, second, on working people initiative and mass activity. All changes in economic management and planning and material stimulation are directed at these focal points in our economic policy. The results of our economic development depend primarily on advances in this field.

In drawing up the balance-sheet for 1980, the 13th Central Committee session has brought out clearly what the basic issues of economic development consist of. Industrial production grew faster by 5 percent than envisaged by the plan. But that

was possible only because some qualitative growth factors became more effective than they had been: Growth was achieved without increased energy consumption, and material consumption developed just as favorably; important contributions were made to speeding up the development and application of microelectronics, and we do meanwhile master basic technologies in that field; important advances were made, especially in metallurgy and chemistry, in more highly refining available raw materials and fuels; and in economically important areas such as machine tool construction international top standards were attained, and so forth. These results are the fruits of the party's economic policy. They simultaneously indicate the main direction of our efforts in years to come.

Such results became possible because the party, in preparation for its tenth party congress, accomplished an extensive initiative of the working people--the broadest mass movement in our country's history thus far.

In other words: On the eve of the tenth party congress there exists a clear understanding of our party's economic strategy as required by the demands for the 1980's under domestic and international conditions, the tasks resulting therefrom, and the direction and means by which they are to be solved. And the main point is that it has been proven we are capable of it.

But it also became apparent what demands the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR makes on ideological work, on the intellectual life in our country in this connection. A few basic matters ought to be singled out here.

#### **Economic and Social Policy in the Struggle Between the Two Systems**

More than ever before in the history of real socialism, today--at the beginning of the 1980's--the economy shows up as the main field of struggle between the two world systems.

The stability of the socialist order, the growing international influence of the socialist community, as well as the thwarting of the imperialist confrontation policy, principally depend on an uninterrupted growth of our economy, on the economic and scientific-technical potentials of socialism and, above all, their effectiveness.

The changes that took place in the course of the 1970's in the international correlation of power in favor of socialism became possible, particularly, through the growth of these economic and scientific-technical potentials in the Soviet Union and in the other countries of the socialist community. It made possible an essential expansion of the foreign policy action radius of the socialist community and enforced the transition to detente in international relations, turned back attacks on the detente process from the most aggressive imperialist forces, and significantly strengthened the national and social liberation movements. Mainly by means of its increased economic and scientific-technical potentials, real socialism was in the position greatly to strengthen its beneficial influence on the revolutionary world process.

There are mainly three factors that must be stressed in this connection:

First, we managed to bring about and maintain an approximate military equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the United States, and between the Warsaw Pact member states and NATO. Mainly this fact it was that forced the ruling imperialist circles to draw compelling inferences with respect to their relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community and to their accepting the policy of peaceful coexistence.

But this approximate military equilibrium and what follows from it are matters to which the most aggressive forces in the United States, the FRG and other NATO states refuse to reconcile themselves. As best they can they seek a military superiority over the socialist community. The United States seeks to use its military and technological potential for implementing far-reaching strategic goals. It wants to return to a policy of strength, pressure and blackmail, mainly vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Second, the economic growth in the states of the socialist community throughout the 1970's was accompanied by a rapid expansion of economic relations between the CEMA countries and capitalist industrial countries. The turnover volume rose approximately tenfold within this decade. That happened at a time when the capitalist world was engulfed by the deepest postwar crisis.

The expansion of economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries indicates that an effective international economic and scientific-technical division of labor is objectively no longer possible without the socialist countries. The socialist community not only is a large and stable export market, it also has a number of vital raw material and fuel supplies and, in important fields, leading technologies and top products, high-grade means of production and consumer goods.

All these are reasons why in capitalist states the readiness to develop economic relations with the socialist countries further also has grown and will continue to grow. At the same time, we cannot ignore that through the rapid development of these relations the economy of the socialist community gets more closely tied up with the capitalist economy and its crisis-like development, so that confining and defending against negative influences has become an important task.

The ruling imperialist circles in turn seek to use these economic relations for getting political concessions from the socialist countries and negatively affecting the socialist character of our economy.

The shaping of economic relations obviously is an important area for the class conflict. Most socialist countries have meanwhile gathered many experiences. That mainly also includes the realization that the further development of economic relations with imperialist states and the successful enforcement of our interests principally depend on our own economic potentials, the scientific-technical level of our production, and a coordinated and correlated policy within the framework of CEMA.

Third, a fact that plays an especially important role in making real socialism internationally effective is that in the 1970's we were successful, through our economic and social policy, in bringing the advantages of socialism to bear on it in a new fashion. The policy that was introduced by the 24th CPSU Congress, the



Eighth SED Congress and the congresses of other fraternal parties, the direct connection between economic growth and the improvement of working and living conditions, as formulated as the main task by these parties, has made more clearly perceptible to the citizens in our countries that the economy in socialist society is no end in itself but serves the well-being of the people and the interests of the workers class and of each individual citizen. Thus, through the consistent implementation of this policy, the 1970's became the most successful period in the history of the GDR.

These practical results underscore the high place value our economic and social policy has for further changing the international power balance in favor of socialism, and that the imperialist confrontation policy can be thwarted only on the basis of high economic and social achievements in the socialist community.

In today's imperialist strategy struggling against socialism there is the hope, playing a great role, that the socialist states are incapable of solving all the economic tasks and problems resulting from the changed international situation, the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress, and the necessary transition to an intensively expanded reproduction. The socialist countries were able, as the prophecies of bourgeois ideologues and politicians have it, to achieve quantitative growth but not able to insure fast qualitative growth. And this is not merely a matter of abstract deliberations and speculations. Wholly in the sense of such speculations, aggressive imperialist forces are intensively trying to exercise as much influence as possible on the economy of the socialist countries. The declared goal of their armaments escalation at present, among other things, is to draw the socialist community into a spectacular arms race that would make it economically impossible for it to accelerate its scientific-technical progress sufficiently and bring its sociopolitical programs to realization.

Knowing all these facts is for various reasons extremely important for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. In particular this concerns the dialectics between internal and international development. We sometimes encounter the opinion that the new international conditions mainly amounted to the price explosion for raw materials and fuels on the world markets. And this fact, no doubt, does deeply affect the reproduction process of the economy. In the early 1970's, the world market price for a barrel of petroleum came to circa two dollars. In January 1981, one already had to pay \$ 40 for it. Yet it would be a mistake to reduce the new international conditions to that fact. The intensification of the international struggle between socialism and imperialism would make new and higher demands on us even if raw material prices had remained stable.

The influence of economic and scientific potentials, of stable and dynamic economic growth and of a social policy greatly affecting all working people on this basis has grown immensely. At a time when scientific-technical progress is picking up speed worldwide and approaching new high points in many fields, a successful mastery of the scientific-technical revolution in the socialist way, i.e., on behalf and for the benefit of the working people, is of great historic importance to the international class struggles of our time.

These insights above all underscore how great the responsibility of the party is in managing the economy. Its leading role inseparably implies a theoretical and practical answer for the new questions. This is today, obviously more than ever, the

most important political task. In this, of course, we shall have to solve tasks various in character--for instance, the development of microelectronics or providing stable supplies in the so-called thousand small things. Ultimately, the political effect of our economic strategy depends on the correct solution in one matter as much as in any other.

In its policy the SED always has proceeded and is proceeding from the realization that there is an inseparable connection between our economic and social policy and our struggle for peace and security in Europe. It always takes the fact into account here that the GDR is located not only on the dividing line between the two world systems but also on the border between the two biggest military alliances of our time--NATO and the Warsaw Pact. There is no other border where on so dense a space so much modern military potential has been accumulated. In connection with this fact, Bonn's fictitious notion that a German Reich continues to exist in terms of international law, within the 1937 boundaries, permanently jeopardizes our peace.

Under such conditions is the stability of the socialist order in the GDR a crucial prerequisite for peace and security in Central Europe. It has been possible under SED leadership to turn back any attempts at undermining this stability from outside. In his speech before the party activists' group in Gera, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that our party must get great credit for it. That stability calls for social stability, which in turn is feasible only on the basis of steady economic growth. The exacerbation of the international situation on the threshold from the 1970's to the 1980's has still further enhanced the importance and effect of the policy of full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability. And it is understood that we will always insure the necessary level of defense capability for our republic within the socialist military coalition of the Warsaw Pact.

That the essence and purpose of socialism and the struggle for peace and security are inseparably tied up together becomes clear. Clearly understanding this specific connection is an important impulse for tapping all potentials and possibilities for implementing our economic and social policy in years to come.

#### Scientific-Technical Progress and Ideology

That scientific-technical progress is the key for the quantitative and qualitative growth of the GDR economy has been thoroughly explained in our Program and in many other party resolutions. In his speech before the party activists' group in Gera, Comrade Erich Honecker commented about it as follows: "It is not saying too much that the rank of an economy today primarily depends on the ability to cope with scientific-technical progress, so that the least possible effort leads to high results. The more developed this ability is, the better will our country be able to solve development problems and make a good showing on the world market, in exports and imports, or in other words, maintain its front-rank place among the industrial nations even in difficult times."<sup>2</sup>

The science potential was significantly expanded in the GDR during the 1970's. Under the last five-year plan we spent annually 4 percent of our national income on R&D. Computed into per capita figures, the GDR thereby occupies an international top position. The same holds true for the fact that in 1980, of any 1,000 workers 185 had a completed university or technical school training. On that basis we

have made more remarkable progress in a relatively brief period in recent years in the field of microelectronics and in other economic domains. Nor is there any doubt that great reserves exist for R&D efficiency and for a broad economic utilization of science and technology data. They lie also, above all, in the intellectual, the ideological, sphere.

The management and planning of scientific-technical progress obviously is becoming ever more important. Properly coping with the science-technology-production-sales cycle is one of the most important conditions for high efficiency. It, first of all, presupposes an accurate knowledge and determination of the long-term development of the requisite production structure within the scope of the national economy and in those areas that are responsible for the various combines. Combines which are thoroughly familiar with qualitative and quantitative production development over the longest possible time frames (during the 1980's and beyond) also can accurately determine and organize the R&D tasks. This way alone will it be possible to turn science and technology into an organic component of the social reproduction process. In this, the reproduction of the material-technical base of R&D is playing an increasing role. It is to be noted that this material-technical base is today more comprehensive already than in many industrial branches. It also is sure to grow faster in the future than the material-technical base on the whole. But that also underscores that the development of science and technology must be managed as precisely and rigidly as the production process. What is specific in it must of course not be overlooked, R&D being to a large extent, after all, products of intellectual creativity. The GDR's high educational level is a sound basis for it. No less important, however, is the intellectual attitude, the readiness and passion for discovering new things and making them practically effective. As experience has shown, the greatest successes in enforcing scientific-technical progress have been achieved where one has unstintingly and tenaciously been struggling for innovations. Shaping such character traits and the readiness conforming to them is thus an essential element of the communist education of youth.

Altogether the intellectual atmosphere in a combine or enterprise greatly affects the creativity of research. It essentially depends on whether management and all working people have a clear picture of the key function of scientific-technical progress and draw the necessary implications from it.

And with respect to that we still have more important capital. During the last decade we have been able to provide the practical evidence in the GDR for that our socialist society is in the position to establish that kind of connection between scientific-technical progress, economic growth and social progress, conforming with the interests of all working people and fostering the humanism in our system. This positive effect of the development of science and technology in socialism has been perceived by millions.

Sociological surveys in GDR enterprises attest that no one in our country is afraid of the effects of scientific-technical progress. Most working people think of modern science and technology as the most important means for further improving their working and living conditions and for developing a cultured way of life and their own personality. Their concern rather pertains to the question whether and how the tempo and broad application of scientific-technical progress can be speeded up. This shows



one of the crucial advantages our socialist order has over imperialism. There is no realistic ground in our country, therefore, for the technological pessimism that bourgeois ideologues have been spreading.

And yet it would be a mistake to assume that the processes connected with the development of science and technology, mainly with microelectronics, are proceeding smoothly and without friction. It is perfectly natural that in this process fundamentally new problems and questions as well as contradictions arise and obstacles diverse in nature have to be surmounted. Modern science and technology, after all, change not only the production and manpower structure, the technologies that are being applied, but also many working people's working and living conditions. Many a worker has to change jobs, his occupation or his collective, his enterprise and at times even his place of residence, abandon what he is used to and get used to some new kind of work.

The readiness and ability of the working people to look for ways and means permitting them to cope with the tasks of scientific-technical progress even under complicated conditions, which are primarily based on political insights into and an ideological understanding of the nature and the inevitabilities in our social development therefore are no less important than technical and scientific knowledge. Such readiness and ability will develop mainly in places where political-ideological work is closely combined with the exercise of socialist democracy, where the ideas and suggestions of the working people on solving existing problems are used, and their democratic partnership is challenged and encouraged. Knowing of one's own responsibility and finding oneself personally used, involved and challenged in solving important social tasks will, as experience has shown, cause that sort of ideological attitudes, that kind of an ideological atmosphere, marked by an uncompromising and stubborn struggle for implementing demanding goals.

Bourgeois ideologists have recently made more of their thesis that today, when a big part of life is governed by science and rationality, men need some spiritual support, an opposite pole above and beyond that rationality. Thereby they seek to establish a wider spread of irrationalism, conservative ideas and religiosity.

The theory and practice of socialism, however, prove that the causes for such perfectly natural phenomena in the intellectual life of capitalism are not to be found in the increasing role of science and rationality but rather in the capitalist social conditions. In accordance with the humanistic objective of socialism, our efforts have been and are aimed at combining scientific-technical progress with continuing social progress and creating ever improving conditions for meaningful, cultivated life, for the development of the individual's creative capacities. Especially because we proceed from the proposition that a fast and extensive advance of science and technology in broad domains of life enlarges the weight of the intellectual factors and the working people's intellectual-cultural activities, the development and satisfaction of material and intellectual-cultural needs, to us, always belongs together. As scientific-technical progress creates new material foundations for intellectual-cultural life, the broad cultural activities of the working people in socialism are an important condition for forming the kind of personalities and creating the kind of intellectual atmosphere that are necessary for coping with the scientific-technical revolution and incompatible with any kind of irrationalism and conservatism.

## Developing the Impulses of Socialist Society

Fully developing the impulses of socialism is among the most important tasks in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. As in no other task it becomes apparent here that this can only be solved if the interrelationships among material, social and ideological factors are shaped correctly and effectively.

In the discussion about the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the question keeps coming up time and time again: How can at the current state of socialist development the humanistic character of socialism, expressed, among other things, in complete job security and comprehensive social security, be made compatible with a great performance readiness and great achievements? Are there not always again contradictions arising between these two sides of our social development? Indeed, it is not simple to give a practical answer to that question. But that it can be answered is demonstrated by the great initiative in preparation of the tenth party congress.

A fundamental task for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the 1980's lies in bringing to full effect the specific factors inherent in socialism which, by becoming effective comprehensively, constitute the impulses of socialism. That includes for one thing the unity of economic and social policy, the distribution according to achievements, and the various forms of material incentives. Equally important, however, as has been shown, are the proper formation and management of the work collective, an efficient management of socialist competition, and the comprehensive exercise and further perfecting of socialist democracy. Relations socialist in nature exist and shape above all within the work collective. Through them, high achievements and the solution of even complicated tasks are to a crucial degree organized and induced. A clear ideological understanding plays an outstanding role of course in shaping the working people's practical attitude, their socialist attitude toward labor.

The effect of these factors depends as much on their proper combination as on an effective organization of the reproduction process. Not any one of these factors by itself, as has been demonstrated in practice, can effect the kind of activity and efficiency that will be needed in the next few years. Initiative and performance willingness can permanently be insured only in their dialectical unity.

Consistently taking into account this dialectics between economy and ideology is a decisive task in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. It helps create over the long run the premises on which the main task in its unity of economic and social policy can be brought to realization with best results.

### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
2. Erich Honecker, "On Topical GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy Questions," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980, pp 4-5.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED WARNS AGAINST DANGERS OF 'POLITICAL PLURALISM'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 22, 10 Feb 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Will Not Permit Independent Organizations." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Independent organizations--like the Solidarity union in Poland--are in no way and under no circumstances permitted in the GDR. About that, the theoretical party organ EINHEIT (No 2, 1981) has left no doubt in its most recent edition. The journal, published by the Central Committee, emphatically rejected any "political pluralism." The "main thrust" of such models was directed "against the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party." By means of having several parties and organizations react against one another, the "leadership by the revolutionary working class party" was to be undermined and eventually eliminated. The originators of the pluralism recipes, EINHEIT continued, were not concerned "with the interests of the working people, with democracy, freedom and justice, but with eliminating the workers and farmers power." They intended to create possibilities for counterrevolutionary forces to act in independent organizations which were "all the more dependent on foreign imperialist honors and money suppliers." The SED would "never permit" it.

Official SED View

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 134-140

['Economic Productive Capacity and Conscious Action' feature article by Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, department chief, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Council of State; and Prof Dr Tord Riemann, chairman, faculty for constitutional law, Department of Jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "The Socialist State--Strong Through the Conscious Action of Its Citizens"]

[Text] The socialist state is and remains the main instrument of the workers class and all working people, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and on the road toward communism. The changed internal and exacerbated external conditions present

the socialist state with new and more demanding tasks. Through the conscious, active and creative work of all working people in our country, state power is being further consolidated, and it can more broadly expand its deeply humanistic nature and perfect its efforts on behalf of the people.

In his Gera speech, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized: "Decisive is and remains that we have from the outset secured and constantly further reinforced and defended the power of the workers and farmers, the foundation for the freedom of the working people. No one has been allowed or will ever be allowed to toy with it or to touch it."<sup>1</sup> The power question has more than ever become the focal point in the international class conflict, more than ever the power question proves to be "the main question in any revolution."<sup>2</sup> Establishing and perfecting the political power of the workers class, of the socialist state, is the indispensable prerequisite for constructing the socialist society.

The focus on the all-round strengthening of socialist state power, as expounded in our party program, has proven correct and necessary. The extensive domestic and foreign policy tasks facing us for the years to come can be solved only if state power is further consolidated and perfected. All experiences of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries confirm that the socialist state is and remains the main instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, in shaping the developed socialist society and on the road toward communism. In the socialist state, all members of society are organized. Through the work of its organs, the citizens are drawn into the management and coshaping of public affairs. The socialist state exercises the power of disposition over the main means of production and secures the use of public property on behalf of the working people. It implements the comprehensive management of social development, insures a coordinated development of the branches of the economy and of other public domains, and furthers the formation of socialist societal relations in their entirety.

The socialist state invests the will of the workers class and its allies with the authority of law. The tasks that form the basis for joint action are set down as mandatory ones, and binding arrangements are made for living and working together to solve those joint tasks. Not least, the workers class and its allies, in the form of the socialist state, have the means of power for insuring the reliable protection of the socialist order and our national defense.

#### Higher Demands Made on the Management of Social Development

The course of the main task, as issued by the ninth party congress, is consistently being carried on in its unity of economic and social policy. We are undertaking the tasks for the 1980's from solid starting positions created through hard work. It is important here resolutely to conform to the greater dimensions of our economy and to the intensified class struggle between socialism and imperialism. Higher demands arise also from the altered foreign economy conditions--protracted and continuing price increases for important raw and working materials and fuels--which we shall have to meet at the pace of the 1980's. Economic growth beyond the normal measure relying still more effectively on better results of our scientific-technical work,



and above all on top achievements, is decisive for securing and gradually further elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living attained, in the interest of the workers class and of all working people.

The growing dimensions of our national economy, the increasing interlacing among the economic branches and the other public domains, the deepening of socialist economic integration and our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and the growing requirements for safeguarding peace and for the struggle against imperialist confrontation and mobilization policy present the management of social development with more demanding tasks. The socialist state, a firm component of the socialist community rallied around the Soviet Union, must be further strengthened and reliably protected. Its sovereignty and territorial integrity must be insured under all conditions.

The decisive guarantee for the implementation and elevation of the active, creative role of the socialist state lies in the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party. In its resolutions it is pointing to the goals of social development that conform to objective laws and make the working people's common fundamental interests prevail. The party is part of the people and serves the people. As the vanguard of the workers class and of all working people, it is meeting its growing responsibility because it relies on the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and thereby consciously conducts the historic process of shaping the developed socialist society. Through its political-ideological work it enables the workers class and its allies to manage the state and the economy and activates the working people for conscious action on behalf of solving the state tasks.

The leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party guarantees and promotes the creative efforts of the socialist state. The party's attention is directed at shaping fruitful interrelationships between the state organs and the other elements in our political organization, so as to tap all the working people's potentials for solving our joint tasks and strengthen the socialist state's ties with all social forces. As the leading force in the state organs, the party sees to it that through the efforts of the socialist state the alliance between the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers and the other working strata, and the time-tested cooperation between the SED and the other friendly political parties, are strengthened and further extended.

That the class enemy's attacks are concentrated especially on that is a natural thing. Socialistically embellished, "recipes" are offered by imperialist propaganda for improving the socialist state and economic order, and especially "political pluralism" is being praised as a fashionable revisionist "model." What is being presented as "pluralism" in the capitalist world is, however, in truth a form of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarianism, and thus a form of the government mechanism of big capital. The imperialist forces are using a "pluralism" in the sense that various parties and organizations do exist, which ultimately are all dependent on them, and which, while they represent diverse tactical concepts and partial interests and are recruited from various groups of the population, essentially preserve the basic interests of monopoly capital. Class opposition inherent in capitalist society is to be disguised thereby and the contest of it is to be prevented by giving prominence to secondary contrasts and minor differences among so-called interest groups. But as soon as it becomes a matter of the profits of the

big corporations, of arms mobilization and anti-communism, of the power of monopoly capital, nothing is left of "pluralism." The parties and organizations that are truly championing the interests of the working people are defied, held down or suppressed by the monopoly bourgeoisie with all the means at its command, if necessary, by brutal terror.

Primarily, "pluralism" models are to serve as ideological weapons against real socialism. The main thrust is directed against the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. The propagandists of "pluralism" would want us to believe that several parties and organizations should have to act against each other so as to practice "genuine" democracy. What is this aimed at? The decisive guarantee for the workers and farmers power, the leadership by the revolutionary party of the workers class, is meant to be undermined and, eventually, eliminated. The key for our successes--that common tasks are commonly worked out and are realized through joint efforts for the good of the people--we are supposed to cast aside and replace it by staging some confrontation among political parties and organizations. Instead of tapping the potentials of our society through working with one another and for one another, we are supposed to wear them out through working against one another. The originators of the "pluralism" recipes are not concerned with the interests of the working people, with democracy, freedom and justice, but with eliminating the workers and farmers power. They intend to create possibilities for counterrevolutionary forces to act in "independent" organizations, which are all the more dependent on foreign imperialist donors and money suppliers. They can be sure we shall never permit it.

#### The Citizens' Democratic Activities--A Decisive Source of Strength

Socialist state power is developed and consolidated primarily through the further development and perfection of socialist democracy, the ever more effective participation of the citizens in the management of the state and the economy. Strengthening the socialist state mainly means strengthening its ties with the working people and the working people's conscious action on behalf of the state which represents their true interests. There is more validity today than ever in what V. I. Lenin said about the strength of the socialist state in comparison with the bourgeois state: "The bourgeoisie considers a state strong only if it can, through all the power of the government apparatus, conduct the masses to where the bourgeois rulers want them to go. Our concept of strength is different. According to our concepts it is the consciousness of the masses that makes the state strong. It is strong when the masses know everything, can judge everything and do everything consciously."<sup>3</sup> As all state activity in socialism serves the good of the people, strengthening the socialist state likewise is aimed at developing its profoundly humanistic essence and at perfecting its efforts for the benefit of the people.

In all domains of our society, and so also in our state activity, greater efforts are needed to meet the growing demands of the 1980's. A greater active and creative role of socialist state power does not come by itself but calls for purposeful work under the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party for providing state management with higher skills. In state management activity it is found to be more and more indispensable to work out, on the basis of our party's economic strategy for the 1980's, long-range conceptions for the development of the economic branches and combines, for insuring the energy, raw and working material requirements, for the use of modern technologies and the application of modern procedures. Such strategic

conceptions, based on scientific analyses and prognoses and creating solid foundations for planning, are also needed for the areas outside of material production and for the development of the territories.

At the same time, higher requirements for complex management also derive from the inseparable unity of political, economic, social, cultural and defense tasks. A growing importance attaches, for the sake of increased efficiency, to the coordination and correlation within the economy and within the CEMA framework, between branch and territorial management, between economic development and the development of the other domains. The interrelationships between production intensification, population development, territorial structure, the development of the educational system and the whole infrastructure must be more thoroughly explored and be made the basis for long-range planning. Yet the clearest requirements and most prudent strategies can spark initiative and creativity only if the citizens' state-conscious thoughts and actions are developed and nurtured. In state management activity the importance of massively effective ideological work also is growing. As Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out at the activists' conference in Gera, what it basically amounts to is responsible action at every spot. Our society needs a sense of responsibility and a personal commitment by all working people.<sup>4</sup> Thus, whenever a new task is tackled we must always again insure anew the unity of policy, ideology and economy.

The SED Program focus on the further expansion and perfection of socialist democracy, as the main direction in the development of our state power, has proven itself fully in recent years and will continue to dictate our action in years to come. Particularly in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress it has again been shown, in the outcome of the thus far largest people's initiative in GDR history, that the citizens' democratic action is our state's decisive source of strength. Socialist democracy is the exercise of power by the working people themselves. Providing greater skills for state management is therefore inseparably tied up with the development of socialist democracy. The development of democratic participation in organization enhances the state management level because the knowledge and experiences of the best workers can be made serviceable to state management and outstanding activities by the working people can be generalized. Simultaneously, the working people's increased awareness and activity makes higher demands on the quality of state management. Promoting the working people's creative work calls for clear objectives, thorough information, well thought-out organization of implementation and realistic accounting for results with inferences to be drawn from them for future work. The citizens' readiness for democratic participation grows all the more, the more clearly they sense and the more practically they find out that their dedication and action are of use to society and to each and everyone. The main thing is to make efficient use of the existing organizational forms of democratic participation for solving the social tasks. Especially while preparing for the tenth party congress, we clearly see that the working people's participation develops all the more broadly and successfully, the more strongly they are directed immediately at solving those tasks that are of essential importance to the further advance of society.

The centerpiece of the further development of socialist democracy lies in perfecting the activities of the people's representations, the elected power organs of the working people. It is a priority party policy concern to enhance their role and authority, their accountability for social development, and to strengthen their influence among



the working people. To concentrate the activity of the people's representations still more effectively on the implementation of the main task, the basic issues in the development of any given territory are to be thoroughly discussed and resolved within the collective of the deputies, and the working people are to be extensively drawn into the preparation of the resolutions and their implementation and supervision. The citizens' receiving thorough information on the work of the people's representations and the deputies' confident collaboration with their voters are essential for tying the citizens up with the state and for the effectiveness of state activity.

Democratic participation in the enterprise and on every job is gaining increasing importance. In the plan discussion, in socialist competition, and in the innovator and rationalizers movement, the working people resort to their basic right to participate and exercise their responsibilities as social proprietors. The role of social organizations is growing along with it. Mainly through the activity of the trade unions, the workers class exercises a considerable part of its influence on the economy and the society. Here the trade unions, as independent organizations working in their own responsibility, see to it that socialist competition boosts economic efficiency, and they bring their influence to bear on the utilization of scientific-technical progress, the struggle for highest efficiency, and the shaping of working and living conditions. The trade unions are proving themselves as representatives of the interests of the working people in that they develop responsibility to the state, the economy, and socialist property, mobilize the creative capacities of the producers of our social values and act as schools of socialism and of socialist economic management.

It will, for all intents and purposes, also in the future be true of the management style of the people's representations and their organs that they will make fruitful and generalize the state management activities developed in production and social organizations and release and encourage initiatives aimed at main tasking areas. It is in this direction that the cooperation of the people's representations and their councils with the National Front commissions, the trade unions and other social organizations should be further extended.

The unity between centralized state planning and management and the development of the working people's creative activities, the combination between uniformity in basic issues and the local state organs' responsibility and initiative of their own, and equally so those of the combines and enterprises, in other words, action in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, keeps showing up as an essential advantage of socialism. It makes sure that the activity of each enterprise collective and, ultimately, of each working person on his job is properly integrated within the overall mechanism of the economy, the overall social tasks, and that their activities are in fact of benefit to society. Thus democratic centralism, a basic political organization and management principle of socialist society, is of a profoundly humanistic nature. Practical socialist experiences from more than three decades in the GDR unequivocally prove: democratic centralism has proven itself to the fullest. Its consistent implementation provides the guarantee for connecting the scientific management of society as a whole with the planned, organized management of its members, with the activities and initiatives of the masses.

Always again the task is assigned to concentrate central management on the basic problems and to insure the implementation of what is basically a streamlined state policy by creative efforts in the enterprises, the local state organs and so forth. An important step toward strengthening and perfecting democratic centralism was taken by creating new and transforming existing combines. Prerequisites were established for a streamlined management of the whole reproduction process in a combine and its long-term planning projection. These possibilities must be fully utilized and the efforts must continue in accurately determining the responsibility of the state and economic management organs on the various management levels and in making sure that such a responsibility is exercised.

State management activity always also involves the optimum cost/benefit ratio. The desire to perfect analytical work and to gain an accurate and complete idea of the social processes in an area of responsibility which can be explained to the finest detail must not lead to any unjustified increase in management costs. Precise surveys are called for to find out which costs are actually necessary, and which analyses and computations, reports and information, regulations and decisions one must truly have to insure skilled management in any given area of responsibility. Through making the work simpler and through fewer meetings and reports more capacities can be released for direct work with the citizens and for preparing scientific decisions.

#### Further Development of the Socialist Legal Order

The state's creative role is brought to realization, essentially, by means of socialist law. Our legal order has been systematically further developed since the Eighth SED Congress. Mainly it has been found of advantage to create basic legal codes--such as the Civil Code and the GDR Labor Code--containing complex regulations for certain public relations areas and becoming the bases for more specialized provisions. Law has been made much simpler and easier to understand. As shown primarily by the movement for exemplary order, discipline and security, the working people are turning the observance of socialist law more and more into their own cause and are advocating its strict administration.

Socialist law essentially helps insure the reliable protection of GDR sovereignty, the socialist social and state order, socialist property and citizens' rights, and helps promote the development of socialist social relations and creative action for the benefit of society. Democratic centralism is to be perfected by means of socialist law. That is served by a legally precise determination and demarcation of the responsibility of the state organs, the combines and enterprises, and the state and economic functionaries on the various management levels. Not last, attention is to be paid in the legal regulations to the relations between the state organs and the citizens, by means of which the citizens' rights are protected and the fulfillment of citizens' duties are insured.

Thorough surveys are needed for the further shaping of the socialist legal order on which legal regulations are necessary and how they are to be made most effective. Socialist law is an essential state management tool, but not all social relations are accessible through legal regulations. In particular, not all economic problems can be solved through legal means, nor can all relations within the state management

system be broken down into reciprocal rights and duties. Responsibility of one's own requires the granting of proper operational leeway, encouragement for one's own initiative and a necessary margin for decision-making. The promulgation of new legal regulations cannot be substituted for purposeful work in implementation of the law in force. Law propaganda and legal educational work come first for further developing a socialist attitude toward the law and conscious action on behalf of its implementation. That is not only the job of justice and security organs but also of all state managers and economic functionaries, the educational institutions, the social organizations and the publication organs.

Essential functions in consolidating socialist legality and improving the effectiveness of state and economic activity are assigned to state and social controls. Especially the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate with its hundreds of thousands of volunteer associates constitutes a great social force that must more still be used to track reserves, oppose routinism and bureaucratic attitudes and boost economic efficiency. It is expected of that organization that it will help generalize the experiences of the best workers and enhance management effectiveness on all levels, influence the simplification of administrative activity and submit proposals for decision on basic tasks and problems to the party and state organs.

#### The Great Responsibility of the Communists in the State Organs

Strengthening our socialist state power and its democratic foundations and improving the skill of state activity is something that concerns the whole party and all citizens. At the same time, a great responsibility arises for the communists working in state organs, as deputies, managers or associates, judges or state attorneys. It essentially depends on their commitment and skills that our state power can meet the increasing tasks of the future. They are the deputies of the working people, they have their confidence and have to justify it every day. They meet their great social responsibility through an exemplary dedication to the cause of the workers class and all working people, to the cause of socialism.

The work of the party groups and party organizations in the state organs must be aimed at activating all deputies, all managers and associates in the struggle for high quality and efficiency and at encouraging their own responsibility and initiative for implementing the party resolutions and our streamlined state policy. The party's political-ideological work in the state organs is successful if all those who work in the state organs give their best toward solving the state tasks through close ties with the working people and through promoting their creative initiative, whereby optimum social benefits are achieved.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "On Topical GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy Problems," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980, p 3.
2. V. I. Lenin, "One of the Key Questions of the Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 378.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 246.
4. Cf. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 5.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### DEFENSE MINISTER REVIEWS ARMY'S IDEOLOGICAL PREPAREDNESS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 141-148

['Military Policy to Protect Socialism and Peace' feature article on occasion of National People's Army's 25th Anniversary, by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense; member, SED Central Committee Politburo: "The National People's Army (NVA)--A Modern Socialist Defense Force"]

[Text] The NVA of the GDR has consistently and in honors lived up to the mission it received from the party to insure a reliable defense capability, from the first hour of its existence. By the side of the glorious Soviet Army, firmly embedded within the phalanx of the Warsaw Pact united armed forces, it has proven itself in the heart of Europe, bordering on NATO's chief deployment area, a steadfast socialist defense force. Nor will it dodge any efforts in the future to keep its fighting strength and combat readiness always at a necessary level.

In his important Gera speech on 13 October 1980, Comrade Erich Honecker has said: "Much could be referred to that was crucial for the good development of our socialist fatherland. Decisive is and remains that we have from the outset secured, and constantly further consolidated and defended, the power of the workers and farmers, the basis for the freedom of the working people. No one was allowed or will ever be allowed to toy with it or touch it."<sup>1</sup>

SED military policy and the GDR armed forces have significantly contributed to that fact and will also offer a reliable guarantee in the future for our being able to continue, undeterred and successfully, our time-tested course alongside the Soviet Union, in alliance with the socialist states of Europe.

Insuring a high and always reliable defense capability for socialism which can stand up to any imperialist attacks--this mission of the working class party and this Leninist legacy is something our army, since the hour of its birth, has always looked at and brought to realization as a patriotic and internationalist obligation. Our army originated and grew alongside the comrades of the glorious Soviet Army, firmly embedded within the phalanx of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact



states, and it has proven itself a steadfast socialist defense force in the heart of Europe, bordering on the main staging area of NATO, imperialism's strongest and most dangerous concentration of armed forces.

In analyzing the historic experiences of the international and German workers class and of the development of the first socialist state in the world, our party has let itself be guided by the following realization of Lenin's party: The socialist revolution can maintain itself and successfully defend itself against its enemies only if it carries out the buildup of its armed forces and its national defense altogether in total conformity with overall socialist construction and by paying full attention to real imperialist threats, and if it constantly consolidates the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the country and in the army. For therein lies the crucial source for the invincibility of socialist armed forces.

Therefore the NVA was created as a power instrument of the workers class, of the dictatorship of the proletariat--its mission being always reliably to protect our workers and farmers state, the vital interests of the workers class and of all working people, peace and socialism.

Therefore the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party has from the outset been enforced and constantly further consolidated in the NVA--the object being our ability to fulfill under any conditions the military class mission of the socialist armed forces under the leadership by the most conscious part of the workers class and by relying on the strength of the basic organizations.

Therefore the NVA, from the outset, was created and built up as a socialist coalition army--an expression and a requirement of the historic fact and necessity that the reliable armed protection of the German workers and farmers power is internationalist in character and at the same time is of great international importance, the fundamental political, economic and social interests of all fraternal socialist countries are most closely interwoven, and our peoples' strategic goal of safeguarding the peace and constructing socialism and communism can be brought to realization only through a firm alliance and through irrevocable friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and its armed forces.

The elemental guidelines of our military policy and of building up our armed forces, which we have allowed no one to upset and which we shall continue to regard in the future as the decisive guarantees for solving all military tasks assigned to us, at the same time also make possible that firm unity between the people and the army which has been growing steadily and has taken deep roots in our country during the last two-and-a-half decades.

Lenin had every good reason to call this unity between the army and the people that is so characteristic of revolutionary armed forces the necessary unified iron will<sup>2</sup> any socialist armed forces need to prevail and triumph in their struggle against the imperialist enemy. This is a realization that has meanwhile been confirmed many thousand times: In the heavy years of imperialist intervention against the young Soviet power as during the Great Patriotic War. And it is also reconfirmed time and time again in our own days: be it in the revolutionary armed forces of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America who are struggling for their freedom and independence or in the Warsaw Pact states and armies, including the GDR and its NVA.

## Solid Unity Between People and Army

I recently recalled an event of the Spanish War in the spring of 1937. I was coming from the Soviet Union at the time, had gotten into uniform and found myself, together with other members of the International Brigade, traveling from Barcelona to Albacete. Wherever our train stopped, we had been expected and were cheered by men, women and children who would shake hands with us or treat us to bread and wine. We had come to a foreign country to fight together with its working people against fascism. And yet we did not feel like foreigners. Those plain Spanish people from the most remote villages of La Mancha impulsively and cordially demonstrated to us that they were seeing their allies and comrades-in-arms in us.

There is where I experienced for the first time what it means for a soldier to bear arms for a good and just cause, to enter battle and be assured in doing so of the love and sympathy of the working people. With it, I also understood the joy and confidence of victory of these Spanish workers and peasants. For they knew and discovered in such meetings, after all, that they were not alone in their struggle against the counterrevolution and fascism, that we went into battle for the sake of their future.

Such a solid unity between the people and the army also has formed and has proven itself many times--under different historic conditions, of course--in our NVA's 25-year history. It has grown through the common concern and the effects by the workers class and all other working people on behalf of peace, through the awareness of their responsibility for never again letting war emanate from German soil, so that our mothers must never again weep over sons killed in combat and our children can live in a happy and unencumbered socialist future.

The unity between people and army was able to develop and prosper in our country because with the founding of the NVA, for the first time in the history of the German people, there had been created armed forces, not for attacking other nations on orders from the exploiter classes and pushing the world into war, but for preserving the peace for the working people and always reliably protecting their peaceful work of construction. Therefore the NVA's class mission serves and conforms to the interests of all peace-loving and progressive people of reliably protecting, side by side with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the achievements of socialism, impeding the forces of war on their road to military adventures, and being able to turn back imperialist aggressions and decisively to defeat the enemy.

Thus in the NVA there also are alive all those humanistic and revolutionary military traditions the German people created in its many hundred years of history, and the members of the NVA and of the other armed organs of our republic also fulfill their class mission wholly in the spirit of the best sons and daughters of the German people who fought in the Red Army during the Great Socialist October Revolution and the Great Patriotic War, opposed fascism with arms in Spain's popular front, or dedicated their lives to a new democratic, socialist Germany during the Hitler dictatorship. Therein also is rooted and embodied the solid unity between our country's working people and its armed forces.

At the time that our NVA was founded in the mid-1950's our party was facing most complicated tasks. Through the speeded up deployment of modern armed Bundeswehr divisions starting in September 1955, FRG imperialism created its own military power and expansionist instrument. The Bundeswehr planning at the time called for 12 combat-ready divisions with approximately 13,000 men and 18 airforce combat squadrons, 18 naval squadrons and two marine aircraft fighter groups by 1960.

Our party leadership, in an internal analysis, drew the following conclusion in the spring of 1957: "It follows from the development of the FRG army up to 1960 that the bulk of this army will be fully mobile at the full scope within the briefest period without any mobilization preparations, equipped with the most up-to-date equipment and thus ready for active operations (offensive operations). It is in the position to carry out combined operations involving naval, airforce and para-troop units."

The FRG territory was built up as staging area and West Berlin, as advanced NATO bridgehead. German imperialism and expansionism for the third time in this century became the main danger for peace in Europe. The already referred to Central Committee document of spring 1957 states: "Because of developments in the FRG, the GDR must do all it can to strengthen its own defense readiness, in order to fulfill its Warsaw Pact treaty obligations and to protect its own border and territory in the case of counterrevolutionary operations directed from and actively supported by the FRG. For the case of an aggression by NATO one must proceed from the exposed location of the GDR. From this arises the demand steadily to increase the NVA's operational readiness in all areas."

That demanded a high degree of creative work, circumspection and organizational abilities of our party leadership and the executive comrades in our armed forces. To meet our test, alongside the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies under the conditions of modern military affairs, first of all we needed skilled military cadre, accurately working staffs, expert training officers and conscious fighters.

Yet the German workers class had but very few trained and combat-experienced proletarian military cadre. What comrades there were, however, they had been toughened in the antifascist resistance struggle, the Spanish Civil War and World War II. Mindful of the Leninist class principle for building up socialist armed forces, our party saw to it that the NVA's highest leadership positions were staffed by such tried and tested communists. To make that clear by one example: Of the 29 generals and admirals appointed to leading functions in the NVA on 1 March 1956, seven had served in the Spanish War and 21 had been in active combat against Hitler fascism during World War II--in the ranks of the Soviet armed forces, among the partisans, in the Free Germany National Committee, or they had been incarcerated in concentration camps and penitentiaries of the Third Reich.

The vast majority of our officers, however, had no experience in military class struggle. These were young workers, members and functionaries of the FDJ, who had done volunteer service in the 1950's in the armed organs, notably in the Garrisoned People's Police, to protect the republic against all counterrevolutionary assaults. The average age of our officers in 1956 was still much below 30, it was 27.7 years, to be precise. Most of these young officers (78.8 percent) had only gone through 8-grade schools, whereas today--25 years later--92.7 percent of all NVA officers has had academic training, graduated from an officers or engineering college or completed a military or civilian technical school.



Today, 2,400 active NVA officers wear the badges of some Soviet military academy, and 175 generals, admirals and officers have graduated from the USSR armed forces general staff academy.

Educated in Marxist-Leninist military science, brought up in the spirit of the working class world-outlook, full with respect and love for the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the NVA leadership cadre see to it that their troops possess high combat readiness and all army personnel, an unshakable fighting spirit.

How deeply our army is rooted in the life of socialist society, in the thinking and conduct of our people, and how solidly our armed forces know themselves tied to the workers class, their party and their state, is attested by the manifold mutual relations and connections between the NVA and all other public domains in our country.

In all bezirks of our republic, army personnel are members of SED bezirk or kreis managements or are working as deputies and volunteer committee members in the local organs of our state power. Still more numerous are the activities of our people in uniform and our civilian employees on the parents' advisory councils and parents' activists' groups, as circle leaders in the party school-year and the FDJ study-year, as sponsors of school classes, apprentice activists' groups and youth brigades, and as guardians for collectives applying for military careers. For years officers have been active in the military policy sections of Urania and have army members appeared as speakers at military policy conferences or have been working as training officers in the camps of the Society for Sport and Technology.

We should not leave unmentioned either the NVA assignments in support of the working people in the economy or when natural disasters strike. These extra assignments have also been handled in an exemplary fashion, while the combat readiness of our armed forces, the fulfillment of their tasks within the alliance, was securely maintained. All this, over and above its military achievements, has helped the NVA in gaining the respect and tribute from our own people, especially from the workers and cooperative farmers, the children and youths.

The relations between the people and the army in our society are based on their solid mutual confidence. Many people from various domains of life are concerned with the GDR's national defense--in the working class militia, in working in civil defense, within the scope of the premilitary training for our young people, and in socialist military education. Economic and state functionaries, veterans of labor, teachers, scientists and artists are welcome guests in the military units and administrative offices.

Our soldiers are closely affiliated with their work collectives. They get letters or the plant newspaper from their enterprises and in many cases retain their brigade membership status. After returning to their enterprise, they distinguish themselves as reservists. Not only do they set examples in production, they also are indefatigably at work in thousands of reservists' collectives and in the militia, in civil defense and as GST training officers, so as to maintain their own operational readiness and prepare the young people in their fields of operation for military service.



In this manner important elements of the fighting strength and combat readiness of our formations and troop components are more and more prepared and brought to realization every year even from outside the army. Does this not indicate a remarkable political maturity of our young people and, with it, pronounced character traits of their educators in the families, schools, apprentice workshops and enterprises, and in the FDJ and GST organizations, that for years already almost 50 percent of all conscripted into military service got basic premilitary training and from 30 to 40 percent took part in career training?

Also the general education level of our conscripts has risen steadily. Thanks to the constantly growing capability of our socialist educational system, all career soldiers of the NVA and 80 percent of all soldiers in basic military service have a complete 10 or 12-grade school education behind them.

Thus the successful course of development of the armed forces in the socialist German state constitutes a solid link in the impressive overall social balance-sheet of our republic and worthily takes its place among the achievements of all classes and strata of our working people. The unity between the people and the army has become a characteristic feature of the national defense in our socialist society that cannot be overlooked.

#### Our Party's Leading Role--The Decisive Source of Its Invincibility

This unity has been insured and obtained mainly because our party's Central Committee has from the outset resolutely implemented the Leninist principle of having the working class party exercise unrestrained leadership over the army. The Central Committee and its general secretary have oriented the basic party organizations in the army to exercising a mobilizing effect through a consistent and creative implementation of the party resolutions and military instructions, the strength of conviction in their arguments, and the combative stance and exemplary dedication by all members and candidates.

Every NVA officer knows his special responsibility as a party member and takes his military function for granted as a party mission. Pioneering in this direction has been the 14 January 1958 Politburo resolution which accurately defined the role of the party organization and its relation with the commanding officers and rigorously aimed party work at improving our combat readiness--chiefly by way of reinforcing individual command in its unity between political and military leadership by the commanding officers. In this connection also the thesis was worked out, which must always be brought to practical realization, that leading troops mainly means leading people and that in the NVA, it being a socialist army, genuine--i.e., socialist--class relations must also prevail. The rigorous fulfillment of this Central Committee demand has enabled us to rally the whole army solidly around the SED and instill the spirit of confidence in and loyalty to the party and its Central Committee in it.

Our political organs, party managements and basic organizations have paid and are paying special attention to solidifying the party's leadership role and to implementing this in accordance with the concrete tasks in everyday service. To that end they are relying on the rich experiences of the CPSU and the Soviet Army, are exchanging experiences with the political workers in the Group of Soviet Forces,

Germany, and at the same time they are also gaining new insights and experiences of their own, which will no doubt be of great help to us in coping with future tasks. That includes the necessity that every party member in the armed forces understands and fulfills his military service, first and foremost, as a class mission and supreme obligation to the party, and that all party organizations conduct an uncompromising struggle for the uniformity and cohesiveness in the political and military actions of all party members.

And that includes the demand to turn the political-ideological work with all army personnel--from the private to the general--always into the focal point of party work and to orient them to an unrestrained willingness to obey their oath to the flag and the orders from the workers and farmers power.

Because our party regarded our building up our armed forces primarily as a task of the class struggle and organized it within the process of the scientific-technical revolution, the decisive guarantee was created with it that all demands resulting from the transformations in military affairs could also successfully be coped with in the NVA. Our ground forces, air forces and air defense forces and our naval forces got efficient Soviet arms and equipment.

In this, the Soviet Army provided us with great and irreplaceable aid during all developmental phases of the NVA in that it made its rich experiences available to us and generously assisted us in the training and advanced training of commanding and senior officers, highly skilled in military sciences and military technology. That created an essential prerequisite for our commanding and superior officers to learn very fast whenever a new generation of weapons and equipment was introduced, use them suitably and correctly, in terms of tactics, and train and drill the crews and operations groups in handling the equipment that concerned them.

As we always let ourselves be guided by the basic requirements of the class struggle and the party executive resolutions in our troop command, in training and advanced training, and in our practical party work, we brought it about that the vast majority of the communists in the NVA would head the struggle for high combat readiness and greater fighting strength in their units, troop components and formations. Therefore the authority of our party collectives in the armed forces is constantly growing, their strength of radiation increases, the unaffiliated army members get spurred and swept along by the party collective in their unit, and the party's influence on the life and the service in our units, troop components, formations and staffs broadens and deepens. That is shown most clearly particularly now while we are preparing the Tenth SED Congress.

Today, on the eve of our 25th anniversary, this is obvious to any friend or foe: The NVA has met its acid test as an armed instrument of the victorious workers class, as the sharp sword of the socialist revolution in the GDR and as a solid component of our international defense system of the allied socialist states in Europe. It is ready and in the position to fight under any conditions, work together on a high level with the most modern and strongest socialist defense power, the glorious Soviet Army, and with the other allied armed forces, tame, jointly with them, the imperialist aggressors, and defeat, by all the rules of warfare, anyone who would dare to attack the achievements of socialism and communism.

We shall continue in years to come and make greater efforts to achieve the most important political objective of the Warsaw Pact member states and guarantee security and peace for the construction of socialism and communism, for the happiness of our peoples.

This responsibility of ours is underscored by the assessments from the SED Central Committee and from the fraternal parties that the course of an intensified arms race and increasing aggressiveness taken by NATO complicates the international situation extraordinarily. While imperialism, at the threshold from the 1970's to the 1980's, has gone into a mad counteroffensive, to stop the peoples' advances along the tracks of peace and progress, the NVA, as a component of the united armed forces and alongside the Soviet Union, has to thwart NATO's strategic designs. Here the unity between the people and the army, the stability and the hardiness of socialist national defense in the GDR, will be able to make a considerable contribution to frustrating whatever designs and operations imperialism contemplates.

As in the past so also in the period ahead we shall forgo no efforts to maintain our fighting strength and combat readiness at a level that offers the enemy no chance of success. With all our energy we shall contribute to the consolidation and deepening of our class alliance and comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet people and its armed forces and with all peoples and armies in the Warsaw Pact states.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "On Topical GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy Problems," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980, p 3.
2. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of the Working Cossacks," "Werke" (Works), Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 390.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED TO INTENSIFY MORAL-POLITICAL TRAINING OF ARMY OFFICERS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 23, 12 Feb 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Demands More Thorough Training for Officers." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED leadership now is demanded still more thorough training for the officers of the GDR armed forces. With reference to the demands made on fighting strength and morale in a possible war, the chief of the security department of the SED Central Committee, Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, said it was necessary to "pay still greater attention" to the training and education of the officers, and "enable them still better to cope with their political-ideological educational task." Scheibe called for "thorough considerations and effective measures" for more effective training for the officers (EINHEIT, No 2, 1981).

GDR Military Scientist's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 149-155

['Military Policy to Protect Socialism and Peace' feature article on occasion of National People's Army's 25th Anniversary, by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, military scientist, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Security Department, SED CC: "Socialist Officer--Class Mission and Commitment"]

[Text] Under our party's leadership a socialist officers corps has been created that is connected with the people, loyal to the workers and farmers power, and ready and able to fulfill its military class mission under any conditions with high military expertise and leadership skill. That has been a decisive condition for the successful development of the NVA during the last 25 years. The further development of this officers corps will also in the future deserve our party's attention.



The creation and successful development of the NVA is, not last, attributable to the fact that the SED succeeded in creatively applying from the very outset the class principle to military development, forming an officers corps which, under our party's leadership, is dedicated to the workers and farmers power, inseparably connected with the working people, and ready and able to solve all tasks arising from that. When in the 1950's the need to create national armed forces for the GDR had become pertinent, the party faced the question who should command the army of the workers and farmers power, who the officers of this army should be and from which classes and strata they should come.

A great proportion of the revolutionaries and patriots who had proven themselves in the armed struggles of the German working class during the November Revolution, in the 1920's and in the Spanish Civil War, and had gathered military experiences there, had been murdered in the concentration camps and penitentiaries of the German fascists. Of the surviving comrades of the antifascist resistance struggle, very few had had any thorough military training. Those cadre, moreover, were urgently needed in all public domains for socialist construction.

It was out of the question to form the officers corps of the new army by recruiting former generals and officers of the fascist Wehrmacht. War experience they had, to be sure, and they knew everything about military warfare. But could they offer surety for the NVA's consistently developing as a military power instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an army that would always act in solid comradeship-in-arms with and alongside the Soviet Army?

In addition, we had to set up the NVA under the conditions of an open national border dividing us from our imperialist class enemy and of his increasing attacks against the GDR and its allies. Many of us still remember the extensive and cunning intrigues of the enemy who left no stone unturned to prevent the formation of the NVA. A whole bunch of diversionary acts of hostility was directed especially against our forming an officers corps of our armed forces.

Then one also had to consider that due to the defeat of German imperialism in World War II, pacifistic moods had become widespread among the working people reaching far into the workers class. Abused by German fascism, not only many former members of the fascist Wehrmacht held the perfectly understandable view after the war they would never again take up arms. That view had also spread into broad circles of youth. Surmounting that pacifism and developing a class-bound position on the need for armed protection of the GDR were imperative for recruiting, educating and training military cadre from the ranks of the workers class.

#### A New Type of Officers Corps

Our party settled the question about NVA officers by proceeding from the class character of this army and turning into the decisive criterion that the leadership role of the workers class and of its Marxist-Leninist party be assured. Tried and tested comrades of the class struggle were appointed to leading functions in the NVA. Many of them had actively fought against the Nazi dictatorship in Spain, in the Soviet Army, among the partisans, in the Free Germany National Committee or in penitentiaries and concentration camps. Altogether, when the NVA was founded, circa 200 officers served in it who already before 1933 had been members of the KPD or of other organizations of the German workers movement.

Simultaneously, thousands of young comrades, especially from the ranks of young workers, who as members and functionaries of the FDJ were energetically involved in removing the debris of World War II, were drawn into service as socialist officers. And then there were comrades who had served in the former Wehrmacht mainly as privates or NCO's. Most of them had already become staunch enemies of German imperialism and militarism while being Soviet prisoners of war and had stood their test as steadfast antifascists. It conformed to the political nature of the NVA that 82 percent of the officers in mid-1956 had their social origin in the working class and 73 percent had been workers prior to joining the army. Some 86 percent of the officers was made up of SED members and candidates. All had actively been involved up to that time in the country's socialist transformation.

In contrast, almost all leadership personnel in the Bundeswehr had consistently held high functions in the fascist German Wehrmacht before 1945 and proven themselves willing executors of Hitler fascism. Of the 38 generals and 237 colonels in the Bundeswehr--as of 15 October 1956--31 generals and 100 colonels came out of the fascist general staff. All high officers remained afflicted with the traditions and value concepts of the imperialist German armed forces. All other officers in the Bundeswehr also willingly and deliberately picked up that development. These are facts that speak for themselves.

#### A School of Friendship and Comradeship-in-Arms

Important results have been achieved in recent years in the training and advanced training of our socialist officers cadre. The SED Central Committee has always proceeded from the Leninist realization that without science no modern army can be built up. It therefore has always seen to preserving political and military training in unity. In this, our party could always rely on the extensive and battle-tested experiences of the Soviet Army, the Leninist doctrine on warfare and armed forces, Soviet military science and, in the form of the Soviet Army, the basic model for a modern socialist army.

If the NVA officers were able to make good progress very quickly in fulfilling the requirements placed on them, it was largely due to the Soviet advisors and military specialists. They always helped our officers with word and deed. They familiarized them with the inevitabilities behind organizing any socialist army, taught them the Marxist-Leninist principles of organization, leadership, training and education for socialist military formations, conveyed their rich practical experiences while doing so, and trained our young comrades in the handling and mastery of modern weapons and in tactics. That truly was a school for our comradeship-in-arms, was proletarian internationalism in action, and that established one of the essential premises for the inviolable friendship between our armies. Of inestimable value for the GDR armed forces has been and is the help from the USSR and its armed forces in the training of military command cadre at their military academies. Since the founding of the NVA, thousands of our officers and generals gained extensive skills in military science at Soviet military colleges, including its general staff academy.

NVA officers schools were of great importance for forming our socialist officers corps. On this basis there developed our modern officers colleges and the Political Military School bearing such obliging names as Ernst Thaelmann, Franz Mehring, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Wilhelm Pieck. The Military Academy, the NVA's

highest educational institution, was founded in January 1959. It received the obliging name of the cofounder of Marxism and first military theoretician of the workers class, Friedrich Engels. The names of the officers colleges and of the military academy mean more than an allegiance to the revolutionary traditions of the German workers class. They mark their political and military standing as well as their mission.

These military colleges have the task to train and educate officers who are class-conscious, committed to the workers class and its party, imbued with socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and highly skilled politically, militarily and in military science, and who can carry out their activities, initiative-rich and at high qualities, as commanding and staff officers, political and technical officers.

The basis of all training and education has from the very beginning been Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world-outlook of the workers class and the Soviet military science that is based on it. The constant application of the Leninist military doctrines and of the experiences of the glorious Soviet Army and Navy is among the inviolable premises of our military buildup and has proven a decisive prerequisite for the successful development of the NVA and its officers corps.

Our party today, in organizing and leading our national defense and its nucleus, the NVA, can rely on a large collective of tried and tested officers who are loyally dedicated to the working class party and in close contact with all the people. Equipped with high political and military skills, they are successfully engaged, with expertise, political farsightedness and firmness in principle, in the military protection of socialism.

#### The Political-Moral Look of the Socialist Officer

An officer of our socialist armed forces has chosen for his career the safeguarding of peace and security, the military protection of the GDR and of the socialist countries, and military service to the lofty ideals of the workers class and all working people, side by side with his comrades-in-arms in the Soviet Army and in the other fraternal socialist armies. This is a diversified, interesting and beautiful profession with fine career possibilities. It is a profession that can fully absorb a person, where one assumes responsibility and can fully dedicate oneself because, after all, it serves the primary vital need of our people, the most important external condition for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the preservation and safeguarding of peace.

Volunteering as a future officer in the army of the workers and farmers power of the GDR is, however, not only a choice of a profession but also a political avowal. However much an officer's career may have in common with other professions in our socialist society, it yet makes especially high demands on national consciousness, on the love for our socialist fatherland and the loyalty to proletarian internationalism, on personal dedication and the ability to solve diversified leadership tasks, frequently in difficult situations. That determines the officer's political-moral stance, his attitude toward military service, toward his fellow-soldiers--his superiors as well as his subordinates--, and his relation with the workers class and the working people. The army's fighting strength and combat readiness crucially



depend on his knowledge and skill, his ability to provide political and military leadership for his combat collective, his party-mindedness, discipline, exemplary fulfillment of duty, and his ability to mobilize the soldiers in his charge for solving all tasks.

A socialist officer's profession is a calling in the best sense of the word. Already a young officer immediately after he has finished officer's college, is given a high responsibility and authority in his first service assignment. In his hands are placed the command authority over many young socialist citizens and the responsibility for their military training and their further communist education, and for copious material values. From the very first day he has to be ready and in the position resolutely to lead the combat collective in his charge into battle, risk his own life, and unconditionally obey all orders. Conditions are such today that on what a single officer does the life and health of thousands of people, and the victory or defeat in combat, may depend. All this calls for a high measure of leadership qualities, military skill, discipline, personal dedication and the subordinating of personal interests to social requirements.

An officer of our socialist army, regardless of his service position or career, is called upon to act in all he does as a communist and always and everywhere to embody and enforce our party's leadership role. Wherever he may be assigned, he is obligated everywhere to engage in political educational work, prove himself as a convincing propagandist and agitator of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and cultivate the revolutionary traditions of the German and international workers movement.

It is characteristic of the NVA officers that they keep meeting these requirements better and better. They are placing the interests of the party, the state and the people ahead of everything and are always letting themselves be guided by an unerring class standpoint. Selflessly, they invest their capacities and knowledge in the secure protection of socialism. From that, not last, comes the high appreciation the officers of our armed forces enjoy in our state and in our entire society.

### Rising Requirements

It is an assured scientific realization that the further advance of socialism and its military protection make more and more professional demands on the personality of the officer, his political, military, technical and pedagogic-psychological insights and abilities, and his general education. Recognizing these demands in good time and translating them into practice means taking an essential step toward focusing on the next phase of our struggle, which will be initiated by the Tenth SED Congress.

We can rely on extremely favorable preconditions for this. Through the successful implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions the sociopolitical base for further strengthening the defense readiness and the GDR's national defense has broadened all-around. Our citizens' national self-assurance and sense of internationalist responsibility have grown significantly. The results of socialist military education and in securing a new generation of military professionals demonstrate that, under the party's leadership and through close cooperation with all social forces, the understanding for the GDR's socialist military policy was visibly deepened and the readiness to make an active personal contribution to the strengthening of the defense capacity of our workers and farmers power, significantly increased.



From there and from the high educational level, the sound professional skills, the increased political knowledge and developed self-awareness of our youth, higher requirements also arise for the political and military leadership in the NVA. The officers must still better be enabled to translate these head start accomplishments of society into fighting strength and combat readiness.

The present and future tasks for the military protection of socialism have to be carried out under the conditions of continuing rapid changes in military affairs, resulting from the introduction of new science data and the most up-to-date combat, command and security techniques in the armed forces. This involves a complex process touching on all fields of military life and having profound effects. For solving our tasks in the military protection of socialism it is of decisive importance how well the officers know how to cope with these prerequisites and conditions, with how much skill, intensity and effectiveness they manage to combine ever more closely the advantages of socialism and of the socialist army with the requirements of the revolution in military affairs and thus use them ever more completely for the sake of a high defense capacity.

For that reason it is above all necessary to pay still more attention to the education and training of our officers on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and enable them still more to cope with their political-ideological educational task. We always have to proceed from the consideration that an officer's authority mainly amounts to the recognition of his own political-moral stance based on firm principle, his political steadfastness, his loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist party, his knowledge, his sacrificial efforts, and his skills as a military leader, organizer and educator.

The Marxist-Leninist education of NVA officers is the decisive foundation for their socialist consciousness, the basis and prerequisite for their class-conscious action, the basis for their superior fighting morale and their great leadership qualification. Thorough considerations and effective measures are required to train our officers effectively for their work with the people, their "most important party duty," as Comrade Erich Honecker has said, which "requires the most up-to-date science data."<sup>\*</sup> Here mainly it turns out to be true that someone who confines himself to his special field and looks no farther is not a good communist. A socialist officer cannot be merely a specialist in his type of weapons or of a narrow discipline. As a propagandist and agitator for our party policy he must be as intensely interested in the worldwide class conflict as in the laws of social development and their application in our country.

He must also seek an active and leading part in the development of the political indoctrination and of the defense motivation in his collective. To that end, the ability to educate by setting positive examples should also be more strongly developed. One of the essential conditions for that is always to spot what is novel in the collective's development and always to explore the question how one success or another was achieved and where the causes for it are to be found in the collective. That means that one should not merely page the outcome of officer candidate and officer training against personal knowledge and skills or personal military facilities. Inculcating military-pedagogical skills in the political and military training.

<sup>\*</sup>Erich Honecker, "We Want to Implement in Peace the Policy Aimed at the Good of the People," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 October 1980, p. 3.

education and leadership of army personnel and combat collectives warrants greater attention. That includes not only a self-assured appearance on the front or a clear manner in uttering commands but also, e.g., the ability to carry on intelligent conversations with NCO's and enlisted men while also being able to listen to them. One of the most important conditions for all that is that self-study in the comprehensive sense of that word is turned into a pronounced habit in life. Only an officer who constantly enhances his knowledge and skills, who reads a lot and studies systematically, keeps in step with his time.

From the increasing requirements resulting from the exacerbated military-political situation and the further intensifying ideological confrontation with the class enemy the need arises to enable our officers still more to assess the military-political situation on their own, find cogent arguments for the confrontation with the enemy, and derive conclusions for increasing their vigilance and the assumption of their own responsibility for the solution of the military tasks. Here too applies that knowledge becomes firm personal conviction only if applied in practice, if it crystallizes in concrete action and conduct.

In view of the rapidly advancing development of military technology and of the ever more extensive use of science data and procedures in troop command, highest attention is warranted to conveying the basics in mathematics and the natural and technical science of modern military affairs. We have to consider that the officers trained today will be the commanding officers of our troop components and formations in the 1990's and beyond the year 2000. They will be facing tasks for which today's college training cannot provide them with hard-and-fast solutions.

A study of the theoretical principles of modern military affairs that is broadly based only can instill in the young people the knowledge and abilities they need to be creatively engaged in their officer's profession over the decades and to tackle ever new tasks independently. Here it becomes especially apparent that all educational decisions made today have wide-ranging and long-range effects. Improving the qualitative level of officers colleges for meeting the tasks of the 1980's, which is currently under way, is an essential step toward perfecting the development of socialist officers in the NVA and calls for an anticipatory and responsible conduct by all who are involved in it.

The socialist officer of the GDR excels in thorough political and military knowledge, great skills and military know-how. He maintains socialist relations with his most important aides, the warrant officers and NCO's. He leads his combat collective in the awareness that it is made up of his class comrades with whom he identifies because of identical goals and interests. He trusts his own knowledge and physical strength and, most decisively, has deep confidence in the moral capacities of the workers class and the working people. Fulfilling his military duty, he knows that he is fighting, together with many others, for something great, for assuring our road to communism. From that he derives great moral strength and the readiness to fight for supreme values and to invest his life in it.

## **Providing for New Generations of Officers--A Constant Task for Our Party**

To assure our NVA at all times of a systematic resupply in young officers is a social task of the first rank. The higher demands made on political consciousness and steadfastness and on general education, on military and special technical skills and abilities, as on the physical and psychological capability of all army personnel, and especially the officers, also call for a higher grade of political-ideological and professional counseling work and for as comprehensively as possible preparing applicants for military careers.

That alone will make it possible to insure, qualitatively and in terms of schedules, the military professional resupply, especially in officers, for the NVA and the GDR border troops. For that it is necessary that the communists in the enterprises and institutions, the state organs, the public education field and professional training still more strongly exercise their personal responsibility in party education and political mass activity to insuring the resupply of military professionals. That ranges from leadership decisions via purposeful work to their implementation all the way down to one's own family.

It is of great practical importance that the units and administrative offices of the NVA and the GDR border troops further develop their military-political educational work in public, their sponsorship relations with schools and other institutions in public education and vocational training, and focus still more strongly on assuring this resupply of military professionals. That also means that available possibilities should still be better used for providing those who are interested in military careers with deeper insights into military life. The party organizations ought to bring more of an influence to bear on further encouraging the readiness to serve our socialist fatherland as officers, especially by convincingly clarifying the basic military-political issues of our time.

That the course we have taken was correct is proven by the 25-year development of the NVA. Forming a unified, reliable and skilled socialist officers corps amounts to an important military-political achievement by our party. It forms a decisive premise for the NVA's ability always to fulfill its military class mission in honors.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR, FRG CONCEPTIONS OF MILITARY TRADITION CONTRASTED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 156-162

['Military Policy to Protect Socialism and Peace' feature article on occasion of National People's Army's 25th Anniversary, by Prof Dr Horst Kuehne, colonel, Friedrich Engels Military Academy: "Legitimate Heir to All Progressive Traditions of the German People." For reference to items of related information see translation of a December 1980 EINHEIT article by Prof Ernst Diehl, chairman, GDR Council for History Studies, published under the heading, "New Goals Set for Marxist-Leninist Historiography," in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 68-76]

[Text] The NVA's image of tradition in the GDR includes all historic personalities, military formations and political organizations that have advocated the force of arms should serve social progress and the preservation of world peace. The class battles of the revolutionary workers movement against militarism and colonialism, imperialism and fascism form the core in its fostering its tradition, which furthers the toughening of socialist soldier personalities and the formation of effective military socialist combat collectives.

Evolved from the socialist revolution, the NVA of the GDR caps the struggle of centuries for setting up armed forces that serve the true vital interests of the German working people--the defense of peace and freedom, human dignity and social progress. Its image of tradition was coined by the SED, the "heir of everything progressive in the history of the German people."<sup>1</sup> It embraces all historic personalities, military formations and political organizations that have advocated the force of arms should serve social progress, the peoples' national and social liberation, the defense against the counterrevolution and the preservation of world peace. The GDR has broken irrevocably with the barbaric traditions of German imperialism and militarism. "Our state," Comrade Erich Honecker said at the festive celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, "embodies the new, socialist Germany. It is the Germany of the great revolutionary traditions."<sup>2</sup>



The regulation of the GDR Minister for National Defense on cultivating the military tradition in the NVA and the GDR border troops gives the following clues: "Traditions of the German workers class in the struggle for seizing and maintaining political power; progressive traditions of the German people in the struggle for social progress; socialist traditions of the SED, the GDR and its national defense; revolutionary traditions of the international workers movement and of the socialist states, particularly the traditions of German-Soviet friendship and comradeship-in-arms, and of the active solidarity with the liberation struggle of other peoples; the life and work of revolutionary models of the German and international workers movement, of progressive personalities of the German people and of other peoples and of the heroes of socialist construction and its military protection."

Whereas the NVA is rooted within the totality of the progressive traditions of the German people, the armed forces of the imperialist FRG, in conformity with their political mission, carry on the tradition of militarism and racism, aggressiveness and genocide. The still valid edict on tradition for the Bundeswehr, of 1965, demands: "Soldierly tradition is to be brought alive in instruction by way of historic examples." This left it up to the former officers and generals of Hitler in command positions in the Bundeswehr to set down the basic trend to be followed in cultivating the tradition. Accordingly, the cultivation of the military tradition in the FRG takes its main clues from the intellectual arsenal of fascist military historians and war reporters. This occupies a prominent position within the system of anticommunist, nationalistic and revanchist manipulation. Nothing has essentially be changed in that under any Bonn government.

The two opposing lines of military tradition preserved and extended in the two German states conform with the opposing class character and class mission of the Bundeswehr and the NVA. They confirm the fact that the border between the FRG and the GDR "marks at once the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, between capitalism and socialism in Europe."<sup>3</sup>

#### Models for the GDR Soldier

With the founding of the NVA, armed forces evolved that are of an entirely new quality in German military history. Their origins are found in the antifeudal revolts of the Middle-Ages, the peasant armies of 1524/25, the wars of liberation against foreign Napoleonic rule, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848/49 and, particularly, in the class battles of the revolutionary workers movement against militarism and colonialism, imperialism and fascism, which form the centerpiece of their traditions.

The NVA also preserves the rich legacy of German military theoreticians with its value for the international communist movement which was illuminated, above all, by V. I. Lenin. It is based on the towering achievements in military theory by Friedrich Engels, but it also draws on the works of such important military thinkers as General Gerhard von Scharnhorst and Carl von Clausewitz.

In view of the defense of our socialist fatherland, the SED has since the 1950's promoted research on the progressive military traditions in their whole breadth and diversity, in the dialectics of the objective and subjective factors in the process of history. As early as at its second party conference, it called for attention to

those Prussian military leaders of the early 19th century who had felt committed to progress. The GDR's instituting the Scharnhorst Medal as its highest military distinction proves how much those patriots' efforts in military science and organization are being appreciated.

The NVA's concept of tradition has no room for allegedly class-neutral "permanent values of German soldierliness" propagated by bourgeois ideologues. The soldiers of victorious socialism turn down, without reservation, anything reactionary in German military history, but they take over everything that has been humanistic and progressive in our past and carry it further on a higher stage of our social development.

That there was by no means any lack of progressive military traditions in German history was already emphatically proven by Friedrich Engels when he, in 1850, revived the memory of the German Peasants' War. After all, he wrote his treatise on the first early bourgeois revolution mainly with the idea of arousing our awareness of our militant tradition. He was concerned with "once again placing before the German people the uncouth yet strong and tough figures of the great Peasants' War" and with recalling a time "when Germany produced characters who can place themselves alongside the best revolutionaries in other countries."<sup>4</sup> Anticipating future class battles, he sought to tap and popularize historic sources of revolutionary energy. The NVA's cultivation of the military tradition serves the same end. It is meant to toughen socialist soldier personalities ideologically and form effective military socialist combat collectives on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

NVA soldiers have every good reason to take themselves as heirs to innumerable brave German men who struggled with extreme rigor for the future of their people and of all mankind. The heritage of the popular masses' imperishable heroism and revolutionary creativity they assumed finds its expression in the awarding of traditional names. More than 100 troop components and barracks, ships and boats have already been awarded such distinction.

Among the honorific names so awarded we find the founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and such outstanding representatives of the revolutionary workers movement as August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Julian Marchlewski, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl. Among them are the names of murdered heroes in the struggle against fascism, Soya Kozmodemyanskaya and Julius Fucik, Etka Andre, John Schuer and Werner Seelenbinder, Anton Saefkow, Fritz Schmenkel and Harro Schulze-Boysen, International Brigade fighters Hans Beimler and Artur Becker, Karol Swierczewski and Hans Kahle, and the November 1918 revolutionaries Heinrich Dorrenbach and Erich Habersaath who died in combat. Among the revolutionary models whose memory is honored in the NVA also are the fighters on the barricades of the 1848/49 bourgeois-democratic revolution like Joseph Moll, Ernst Zinna, Heinrich Glasewaldt and the German revolutionary general Johann Philipp Becker, patriotic officers of the liberation war against Napoleon, like Neidhardt von Gneisenau, Adolf von Luetzow and Theodor Koerner, and the leaders of the German Peasants' War, Thomas Muentzer and Florian Geyer.

Most of these names were bestowed not only in the NVA and in other armed forces of the GDR, but also in the fields of public education, industry and agriculture. That once again expresses the indestructible unity between the people and the army which the Marxist-Leninist party has forged. Close to 80 percent of the names bestowed on troop components of the NVA and of the GDR border troops recall antifascist resistance fighters who gave their lives for the benefit of the peoples.

The Bundeswehr, in contrast, fosters the imperialist FRG's traditions of Prussian-German militarism and fascism. Most barracks in the FRG bear names that betoken revanchist territorial claims and adventurous war plans by German imperialism. Revealing are designations like Pomerania barracks, Ostmark barracks and Teutonic Order barracks. Seven barracks go by the name of Hindenburg, three, by that of Rommel, and a whole number of others are named for other military idols of the empire and Hitler Germany--names of the tradition awarded with the concurrence of the competent FRG minister.

It wholly conforms to the spirit of that tradition that many Bundeswehr officers maintain close contacts with traditional affiliations of the Nazi Wehrmacht and the notorious Waffen-SS; and that they more or less openly acknowledge the war crimes committed by German imperialism and aspire after a new anti-Soviet and anticommunist crusade. The FRG government normally gives them free rein to do so. At the same time, however, it seeks to save face before the world public and, in deceit, pass over the fact that the GDR is the homeland of all progressive traditions of the German people.

An increasing effort is being made to integrate progressive traditions of German military history and the history of the antifascist resistance struggle, by contrivance, with the Bundeswehr's image of tradition. They are invoking "testimonials, attitudes and experiences of previous generations which, as soldierly, libertarian, republican and democratic traditions, are of importance also to our time."<sup>5</sup> Leading FRG politicians are pleading for a conception of tradition that would also "take for its models the great men of peace our people has produced."<sup>6</sup> The demagoguery in such utterances becomes evident once we ask the question what is being done to halt the glorification of the Nazi Wehrmacht and the anti-detente and anticommunist hysteria that keep swelling up in the Bundeswehr barracks.

#### Traditions of Proletarian Internationalism and of Socialist Comradeship-in-Arms

In the NVA as in the fraternal armies of the socialist military coalition, ideological work is aimed at educating army personnel in the spirit of the best fighting traditions of their parties, peoples and states so that they will, under any conditions of the class struggle, demonstrate a rigorously internationalist and revolutionary-patriotic position. Cultivating the military tradition deepens the realization that proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism are inseparably combined and call for harmony between words and deeds.

NVA soldiers demonstrate their intellectual and moral maturity when they make every effort to strengthen and protect their socialist fatherland by means of exemplary military obedience and always live up to their internationalistic responsibility. In his opening speech for the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuvers, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked: "Socialist comradeship-in-arms embodies proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism in the military field. All this simultaneously illuminates the novel dimensions in the historic efforts by the socialist military on behalf of the protection of the most progressive social order, which more and more lastingly affects the development of the revolutionary world process and offers reliable support to the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. High requirements have been placed on this sector of our struggle for the 1980's too."<sup>7</sup>



The GDR is the first German state where the soldiers consider it a tradition and honorable duty to grant all freedom fighters against old and new colonialism active solidarity. Whereas in the Bundeswehr the "imperial protective troops in Africa," notorious for their extermination campaigns, are being glorified--naming barracks after General von Lettow-Vorbeck and General von Estorff is symptomatic of it--the NVA, as an army of people's friendship, has assumed the legacy of those German revolutionaries who, taking issue with the imperialist colonial policy of the Empire, were not afraid to heed the following position: "The essence of proletarian patriotism is defined by its attitude toward foreign countries as international solidarity with the exploited and oppressed in all nations and races."<sup>8</sup> The alternative to colonialism and its army, which Karl Liebknecht called the "most bestial and disgusting of all tools,"<sup>9</sup> the representatives of the Marxist German workers movement found in the national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples.

When after the November Revolution in 1918 the rabble of soldiers returning from the "protectorates" in Africa marched against the German working people, it became particularly evident how close the objective relations are between the liberation struggle of the popular masses in the colonies and the struggle of the revolutionary workers movement. Generals that came out of the "imperial protective troops," like Maercker, Lettow-Vorbeck, Estorff and Epp, belonged among the pioneers of Hitler fascism. Even way back in 1919/20 they tried to set up a counterrevolutionary military dictatorship in Germany. The armed formations of revolutionary workers heroically opposing them thus knew they stood in one frontline with the colonial peoples. In that sense also, the members of the NVA feel their solidary ties with the freedom fighters in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In view of the worldwide anti-imperialist rise of the peoples and of the dangers emanating from neocolonialism, racism, and designs at imperialist intervention, our soldiers, through their exemplary obedience to duty, help further develop the GDR's alliance relations with young progressive national states and liberation movements.

Particularly rich traditions of internationalism in the military field pertain to the Great Socialist October Revolution and the history of the Soviet armed forces. The members of the NVA are proud that circa 10,000 German patriots in international units and troop components of the Red Army defended the young Soviet power against the domestic counterrevolution and imperialist intervention. Shoulder to shoulder with their class comrades and the comrades-in-arms of the socialist military coalition they let themselves be guided by the appeal V. I. Lenin addressed at Polish volunteers in the Red Army on 2 August 1918: "To you has been accorded the great honor to defend the sacred ideas, weapon in hand, and to bring about the international brotherhood among peoples, through struggle, shoulder to shoulder, with the Germans, Austrians and Magyars, who still yesterday opposed you as enemies on the frontline, and if you join all your military capacities forming a powerful international Red Army, no imperialist power can stand up to us!"<sup>10</sup>

An imperishable monument pointing into the future has been erected by the NVA's fostering the military tradition to the struggle led by Ernst Thaelmann's party against imperialism, militarism and fascism. The unbending fighters in the state of illegality, in the penitentiaries and concentration camps of the Hitler regime, in the international brigades of the Spanish people's army, in the ranks of the Red Army on the Soviet-German front, in the Free Germany National Committee and in the partisan affiliations in countries occupied by fascism--they all have demonstrated



what true patriotism is like. By the side of the Soviet Union and of all peace-loving humanity, they saved the honor of the German people during the night of fascism. From their ranks came the comrades who in leadership functions had a crucial share in the buildup of armed forces in the GDR. Thus the NVA's military traditions also exhibit personnel continuity.

An inexhaustible source for internationalist and patriotic education are the traditions of military combat produced by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War--traditions of unerring loyalty to the communist ideals and to the Marxist-Leninist party, traditions of unprecedented heroism and affecting humanity. In the GDR's NVA they are understood and fulfilled as a universal legacy, as traditions we share with the united armed forces of the socialist community of states. That also is attested to by the strong response to Soviet films like "Liberation" and to war memoirs such as Brezhnev's "The Small Land."

"The NVA of the GDR," Comrade Erich Honecker writes, "originated as an army of antifascism and antimilitarism, and an army of peace, and so it shall remain."<sup>11</sup> Through irrevocable comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal socialist armies, it has always done honor to its class mission. This testifies to the continuity and vitality of our people's progressive military traditions. Generated and matured as a socialist coalition army, the NVA has helped change the international correlation of forces more and more in favor of socialism and of peace.

During the last 25 years, the GDR "established its own traditions of the first socialist German army."<sup>12</sup> These are traditions in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, traditions in the reliable protection of the revolutionary achievements and of peace, and traditions in the struggle for favorable external conditions for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, directed at the well-being of the people. In everyday military service, in the socialist contest for insuring high fighting strength and constant combat readiness, in a disciplined and initiative-rich fulfillment of every order of the workers and farmers power, many different kinds of achievements, worthy of being traditional, have been accomplished throughout the NVA's history that serve the young soldiers as models and incentives.

In developing new traditions of our own, a crucial place is held by a clearly targeted deepening of our class comradeship and our comradeship-in-arms with the fraternal socialist armies, especially with the Soviet Army, the principal power of the united armed forces. Constant direct contacts between troop components of the NVA and the Group of the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany, this comradeship-in-arms which the soldiers could experience directly, became an especially valuable tradition in the NVA. Developing it further is something the commanding officers, political organs and party organizations regard as a leadership task of the first rank--in the sense of this guideline from the Ninth SED Congress: "Learning from the Soviet Union how political-ideological education and the handling of modern arms and equipment can still become more efficient and effective among the troops is and remains an iron law for a responsible internationalist conduct by our army members."<sup>13</sup> New joint traditions also arise in the civil defense service system, in Baltic fleet cooperation, and in joint troop exercises and maneuvers. Tradition was formed, not last, by the coordinated military operations on 13 August 1961 in securing the GDR national border and in 1968, in the protection of the CSSR against assaults from domestic and external counterrevolution.

Reactionary journalists never weaken in fabricating contradictions between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. They seek to insinuate to our people that proletarian internationalism should have to be understood "as a synonym for restricting the sovereignty of the GDR."<sup>14</sup> This way they mean to encourage a bourgeois nationalism with an anti-Soviet accent and malign the concerted military protection of socialism within the scope of the socialist defense coalition which, in view of the designs by imperialist circles that are placing peace in jeopardy, is a vital necessity for the peoples of the socialist community--including our own people--, through which they can preserve and carry on their efforts of socialist construction in full sovereignty.

To such dangerous aggressive designs also attest, not last, those manipulations by the FRG's bourgeois mass media that presume to be able to find handles for subversive penetration of socialist society and its armed forces by means of national specificities and allegedly unresolved national problems--such as declaring the "German question" deliberately to be "open." The cultivation of tradition within the NVA helps frustrate such assaults on the cohesion of the socialist military coalition. It helps form a healthy pride in our socialist fatherland in organic connection with stable internationalist modes of thinking and conduct.

#### **Cultivating the Tradition in the Struggle for High Fighting Strength and Combat Readiness**

Based on the statements from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. I. Lenin about the relations between tradition and social progress, great efforts have been made since the NVA was founded to use the wealth of the progressive traditions of the German people in massively effective ideological work. This has helped "hand on the positions of the revolutionary workers movement from generation to generation."<sup>15</sup>

The military traditions have long held a solid place in the political mass activity among NVA soldiers. In many different ways the commanding officers and political organs and the party and FDJ organizations are making use of the educational potentials that inhere in the history of any given troop component and the traditional name that goes with it. Impressive also have been the excursions to the memorial sites for the heroes of the antifascist resistance struggle and of the Soviet armed forces and the symbolic handing over of arms by workers tried and tested in the class struggle. Many NVA members show great initiative in writing their troop's history and in collecting valuable materials for cultivating the tradition.

Cultivating the military tradition helps deepen the understanding of the causes for the successful development of the NVA and thereby tap sources for a great performance willingness in political and combat training. In conveying the history of our armed forces, dealing with our tradition leads, in particular, to the accomplishments of one's own troop component or unit. Many measures in preparation of the 25th anniversary of the NVA familiarize army personnel with the conscientious obedience of earlier generations of soldiers. That includes the awarding of troop banners and traditional names for more troop components, festive FDJ membership meetings, cultural policy events in the NVA buildings, regimental and company clubs, exhibits in the tradition show-rooms, and meetings with veterans and with comrades-in-arms of the "regiment near by."

The traditions carried on by the NVA illuminate the great responsibility for the reliable protection of the socialist achievements from imperialism, from any assaults by the class enemy, under whichever flag they may be launched. This maintenance allows a soldier of the socialist GDR to grasp with his heart and mind what it means to stand up for revolutionary ideals and remain loyal to the oath to the flag. It fosters the instilling of courage and steadfastness, bravery, comradeship and readiness for sacrifice. It solidifies the resolve to meet all demands of the military service with discipline and rich initiatives and to give one's life for gaining victory in any war imposed on socialism. Cultivating the tradition in the NVA toughens fighters who take to heart Ernst Thaelmann's legacy, which says: "To be a soldier of the revolution means irrevocable loyalty to the cause, a loyalty that proves itself in life and death; it means unconditional reliability, confidence, bravery in battle and energy in all situations."<sup>16</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 5.
2. Ernst Honecker, "Rede auf der Festveranstaltung zum 30. Jahrestag der DDR" (Speech at the 30th GDR Anniversary Celebration), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 14.
3. Kurt Hager, "Our Party's Fighting Strength Is Based on Marxism-Leninism," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 December 1980, p 3.
4. Friedrich Engels, "The German Peasants' War," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 329.
5. "Weissbuch zur Sicherheit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und zur Entwicklung der Bundeswehr" (Whitebook on the Security of the FRG and on the Development of the Bundeswehr), Bonn, 1979, p 196.
6. Walter Scheel, "Concerning the Ethical Foundations for Defense Readiness and Democratic Consciousness," BULLETIN DES PRESSE- UND INFORMATIONSAUSENTES DER BUNDES-REGIERUNG, Bonn, No 30, 1978, p 281.
7. Erich Honecker, "'Comradeship-in-Arms 80,' A Cause for All the People," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 September 1980, p 3.
8. Clara Zetkin, "Our Patriotism," "Ausgewahlte Reden und Schriften" (Selected Speeches and Essays), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 272.
9. Karl Liebknecht, "Militarism and Antimilitarism," "Gesammelte Reden und Schriften" (Collected Speeches and Essays), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 272.
10. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Demonstration of the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 26.
11. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 198.

12. Heinz Hoffmann, "Twenty Years NVA," "Sozialistische Landesverteidigung. Aus Reden und Aufsätzen. 1974 bis Juni 1978" (Socialist National Defense--From Speeches and Essays--1974 to June 1978), Militaerverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1979, p 305.
13. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 120.
14. Hans-Adolf Jacobsen et al. eds., "Drei Jahrzehnte Aussenpolitik der DDR. Bestimmungsfaktoren, Instrumente, Aktionsfelder" (Three Decades of GDR Foreign Policy--Determinants, Instruments, Fields of Action), Munich and Vienna, 1979, p 223.
15. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben," p 331.
16. Ernst Thaelmann, "Eine Biographie," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 773.

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IDEOLOGICAL-MORAL CRITERIA FOR SOCIALIST ART EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 23, 12 Feb 81 'Iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Admonishes Artists to Adhere to 'Socialist Party-mindedness.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 2, 1981) has reminded GDR artists of the principle of "socialist party-mindedness." That was the "central ideological principle" of literature and art in socialist realism and mainly showed itself in an "active support of real socialism." Consequently, in depicting the tension between the individual and society, demands for self-realization and personality development must not be placed above social interests, and socialist society must not be held responsible for an individual's unfulfilled dreams, because that was "petty bourgeois." On the other hand, the requisite bond with the GDR was by no means tantamount with an uncritical and euphemistic attitude toward reality. That applied also to esthetically coming to grips with manifestations such as egoism, greed, philistinism, hypocrisy, indifference to social concerns, a poor work attitude, cynicism and heartlessness. Not the acerbity of a critique was the criterion for the party-mindedness of a work of art but the position from which it was leveled and the direction in which it went.

SED Art Scholar's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 169-175

[Article by Prof Dr Elisabeth Simons, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: On the Party-mindedness Principle of Socialist-Realist Artistic Endeavor." A translation of a January 1981 EINHEIT article on the subject is published under the heading, "Strengthened Ties Between Artists, Party Advocated," in JPRS 77653, 24 Mar 81, No 1861 of this series, pp 42-50. For references to other items of related information see translation of a December 1980 EINHEIT article by Prof Hans Koch, published under the heading, "Conflicting GDR, FRG Approaches to National Culture Stressed," in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 77-85]

[Text] Socialist party-mindedness is a central ideological principle in the literature and art of socialist realism and its theory. It expresses itself as a basic political-moral attitude as well as, primarily, in the artistic process itself and is not restricted either to specific modes of creation or to specific artistic means. Party-minded positions in the process of art must always again be acquired. Party-mindedness, popular relevance and a rich substance of socialist ideas are inviolable basic principles in the art of socialist realism.

Our party program calls the party-mindedness in the GDR's art of socialist realism a prerequisite for its ability "impressively to affect the life of the people and to mold socialist convictions and attitudes and relations toward life, a sense for beauty and working class ideals."<sup>1</sup> In party documents and in articles by and talks with artists and creators of culture in our country, when the question about the socialist character of literature and art comes up, what we are always talking about is party-mindedness.

In terms of Lenin's study, "Party Organization and Party Literature (1905)," we understand by socialist party-mindedness the central ideological principle of literature and art in socialist realism and its theory. Party-mindedness, as a decision deliberately made on behalf of the workers class, means that an artist openly and consistently advocates the ideas of scientific socialism and agrees with the goals and tasks of the Marxist-Leninist party as laid down in its program and resolutions and through his personal involvement and artistic means actively takes part in the shaping of socialism. Seen that way, the principle of socialist party-mindedness expresses itself not merely as a basic political-moral attitude but also, primarily, in the artistic process itself.

The principle of party-mindedness, based on the indivisibility between political and esthetic factors in socialist art, pervades the themes and narrative structure, the episodic and narrative mode, the conflict constellation, intended effect and imagery, that is to say, it comes into its own throughout the entire work of art and its substance of ideas as well as in its form. Socialist party-mindedness expresses itself most clearly in the esthetic values suggested, in the artist's ability to recognize the greatness of and beauty in real socialism and to see particular manifestations that at times require criticism in a proper relation with the society as a whole, which is being affirmed. Ideological clarity, which implies knowing of the social developmental laws and their enforcement in the conflict-rich struggle for what is new, is a crucial prerequisite for the emergence of a socialist work of art, even if that as such does not yet guarantee its esthetic value. Anna Seghers has once said party-mindedness in a work of art does not convince unless it is "presented by artistic means, when it is only put onto it from the outside, as a political statement."<sup>2</sup> A work of art had quality and depth "if it presents an important piece of reality so clearly, truthfully and grippingly that it shakes the reader up, makes him comprehend this reality, and motivates him to think about it and act accordingly."<sup>3</sup>

Party-mindedness can be grasped only in its indissoluble unity of philosophic and esthetic components, its ideological-philosophic position and artistic mastery. Any one-sidedness here would negate the basic feature of socialist-realist art.

The esthetic expression of socialist party-mindedness is not restricted either to specific modes of creation or to specific artistic means. It includes as much those manifestations in art that clearly and directly relate to contemporary processes as others that deal with the past. It relates to all social and humanly significant phenomena literature and art are dealing with *per se*.

More than ever today we are emphasizing the esthetic character of art because socialism needs art as art, needs it in its irreplaceably mentally orienting, socially activating and communicative function. Its inherent identification with working class policy and the capacity by which it helps shape real socialism remain unaltered criteria for socialist-realist art. Socialist party-mindedness therefore is in the width and variety of art expressions the centrally ideologically organizing principle.

#### Party-mindedness as Historical Category

The principle of party-mindedness generalizes an international development of decades in socialist-realist literature and art and in Marxist esthetic thought.

Without esthetic and theoretical reference to this inexhaustible store of experiences, no answer can at all be given to the question of socialist party-mindedness in art. The definitions quoted above refer of course only to general basic features. Concrete handling calls for understanding its historic-dynamic character and wealth of problems. Socialist party-mindedness has been and is tied up with the political, social, cultural and ideological tasks and targets of any given stage in the class struggle. Artistic tasks and attitudes from other historic situations cannot be turned into a compelling criterion for a social reality in which antagonistic contradictions no longer become an important subject matter of a narrative appropriation of the world, but the reality of real socialism does with its own history, conditions and attitudes, and where literary attention addresses itself mainly to the dynamic, contradiction-rich problems that grow out of the relation between modality and reality, between individual aspirations and social requirements.

The leeway for one's party-minded decisions must always again be newly defined and thought through in any historic development phase. Party-minded positions must be acquired, time and time again, for which a productive-critical acceptance of already available artistic and esthetic achievements facilitates and accelerates this task. The biographies and works of Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht, Hanns Eisler, Ludwig Renn and many others give as many clues to that as do the discussions and deliberations on the function of the arts in the constantly developing socialist society.

In the 1970's, some important theoretical studies were published in the GDR on party-mindedness (within the scope of broader collective studies).<sup>4</sup> Yet for several reasons we need a continuing systematic elaboration and deepening of those research results.

#### Party-mindedness and Creative Freedom

In all literary and art science studies on party-mindedness, despite all the different methodological procedures for the analysis of new GDR literature and art, the creative

subjectivity of the author and artist holds center stage as it should. Already Lenin advised "to assure the broad leeway for personal initiative and individual inclinations, ideas and imagination, form and content"<sup>5</sup> literary work requires.

Recurrent assaults the enemy is making on the principle of socialist party-mindedness culminate in the claim that this conformity with the working class party is bound to lead to tutelage, to the impossibility of any truly creative artistic activity. The enemy is known to have always given a distorted picture of the principle of socialist party-mindedness, misrepresenting it or declaring it historically obsolete. All recommendations addressed at the socialist artists to quit their active participation in the construction of socialism, evade the class struggle and side with the individual against society and for a universal human ideal condition are designed to detach the artistic intelligentsia in our republic from the working class party and regain spheres of imperialist influence. The starting point for such positions is what Lenin already persuasively unmasked as the "bourgeois or anarchistic slogan"<sup>6</sup> of the absolute freedom of artistic creativity, from which its proponents always distance themselves fast as soon as they find their system endangered. Between capitalism and socialism there is no third alternative.

Socialist party-mindedness defines a new form of responsibility of the artist toward society and all humanity. Here lies the root of the freedom for art work. The artist's freedom in socialism lies "in that he finds himself in full agreement with what is historically necessary,"<sup>7</sup> as Johannes R. Becher put it, and Hermann Kant, at the Eighth GDR Writers Congress, underlined this idea of party-mindedness and freedom existing in inseparable unity when he said: "Our books have considerably contributed to the forming of self-awareness by the citizens in this country. They had a share in the release of personality. They were of benefit to cognition and clarification processes. They have kept fun and debate going, served the true emancipation of men, the development of civic sense, sociability and solidarity. They have helped many a person gain, maintain or recover his enjoyment of life. And our books did their share in strengthening our resolve to defend this life with energy. To be able to do all this, our literature had to be free, and free it has been and is free."<sup>8</sup>

Party-mindedness here and today above all demonstrates itself in the active support of real socialism. This requires political-ideological clarity of the artist, a knowledge of the developmental trend of the internal and external conditions under which the main task is carried on in its unity of economic and social policy. For the comprehension of the course and goal of our social order and of the relationship between the individual, history and society, artistic achievements are needed that can "still more actively guide the people into the future by a deep comprehension of the present, make them take a stronger part still in the formation of communist ideals, and make them explore what remains to be done for their implementation."<sup>9</sup>

Artistic explorations of our reality and its history and prospects are not replaceable by more or less nice pictures of what has long been known, but they call for the greatest relevance to life and a creative search based on life and affecting life, affecting its constant revolutionary and productive transformation in the spirit of our great, humanity-transforming ideals. Therein lies an essential criterion for our conception of what is creative in art. Erik Neutsch, e.g., finds his coshaping task as a socialist artist especially in the "desire for an absolute and free--



free also meaning free from resentment--conformity between one's own work and the goals of the revolutionary workers movement; the desire not just to be a party-minded author, but an author of my party."<sup>10</sup>

Artistic creativity understood like that presupposes a Marxist-Leninist image of the world and full understanding for the dialectics of the revolutionary world process and the great social interconnections and socialist processes. Our party resolutions and documents here serve as a sure compass for more deeply exploring the truth of life, an essential foundation for the shaping of basic Marxist-Leninist convictions, within the range of which the whole wealth of individual reality experience and intellectual originality, the variety of artistic signatures and genres, and the most diverse esthetic conceptions can develop richly and without constraint. The real humanistic character of our society paves the way for all artists who feel close to our struggle for peace and real humanism toward party-minded art work, an artistically viable participation in the implementation of socialism.

### Party-mindedness and the Image of Man

The party-minded position an author or artist holds reveals itself, for example, in the conception of man he holds. Socialist realist literature has from the outset been based on the Marxist-Leninist conception that not only is man shaped by social conditions but also has enormous capacities for subjecting reality to revolutionary changes. Literature points to the rich social possibilities that insure the creative development of the individual, the fulfillment of his claims to happiness, and the development of new interhuman relations in real socialism. This interest in the fate and development of the individual throughout the process of history is something the enemy simply seeks to disqualify as a "withdrawal into the private sphere, a quiet departure from socialism." How stupid and foolish! As the "individual's drive for self-realization, his yearning to be needed, be tested and be given responsibility" by no means "contradict socialism but are the very characteristics and values that distinguish socialist humanism, which we desire and bring to realization."<sup>11</sup>

The party-mindedness of an author is seen not only in how he brings these questions up in their greatest possible relevance to reality and truth to life, but also in the ways and means by which the tension between individual and society is presented, "with a sense," as Guenter Goerlich has said, "of not ignoring man while dealing with the social mechanism nor, in turn, the reflection of the hard class conflicts everyone has to confront in his own way, while dealing with 'purely human' conflicts."<sup>12</sup> If, however, individual claims to self-realization and personality development are detached from the historic mission of the workers class and placed above social interests, if socialist society is blamed for unfulfilled dreams an individual may have, "each such case certainly involves a petty bourgeois postulate."<sup>13</sup> A distanced observer of social processes who sees literature and the workers class, not as differentiated parts of a common whole, but as mutually exclusive forces, can always count on the applause from the enemy. The enemy honors that kind of "freedom" because it detaches the artist from the party, the vital interests of the masses, and socialist reality.

Most authors describe social activities (at work or in taking part in social events) as a factor that forms personality and combines and nurtures the individual and social aspects, as for instance in the novels "Eine Anzeige in der Zeitung" (A Newspaper Ad) by Guenter Goerlich, "Kippenberg" (by Dieter Noll), "Daniel Druskat" (by

Helmut Sakowski), which made quite a stir. "The tension lies in the conduct of the people who find themselves so challenged that it simply--as Kippenberg says--'has to hurt,'" as Dieter Noll has commented.<sup>14</sup> This affirmative activity and readiness for achievement, presented rich in conflicts and afflicted with contradictions, conform with the objective necessity to uncover all reserves socialism owns due to its advantages in coping with the enormous tasks of the 1980's.

Party-mindedness comes to realization, however, not only when literature comes to grips with new moral standards and resistance against them, but also in artistic warnings against fascism and war and in disclosing their class-conditioned and social causes. In such widely, even internationally, noted works of memoir literature of high artistic rank as, e.g., "Wenn es ans Leben geht" (When Life Is At Stake) by Peter Edel and "Sonjas Rapport" (Sonia's Report) by Ruth Werner, history becomes transparent in its relevance to the present, and historically important epochal issues are reflected on through admonishment and recall. The individual's decision on how to react to fascism, as a moral obligation and opportunity, in many recent literary works in the GDR becomes the value criterion for guilt and complicity. Konrad Wolf, president of the Academy of Arts of the GDR, in view of the confrontation policy in which the most aggressive imperialist circles are engaged, stressed the great importance of artistic designs which, by resorting to concrete events in our national past, relate to world-shaking problems of our era. "More than 30 years of peace thanks to the existence of the socialist community is a precious accomplishment. Yet this situation also brings with it that our senses, untested by terrifying experiences and suffering, are not prepared, in terms of vigilance and understanding, for all the gruesome possibilities that exist. Nothing helps here but vivid presentation which also must relate to the laws of cause and effect. Not that I wish to claim that every work of art is called upon to capture all relations, motives, backgrounds and so forth leading to a specific social situation and, eventually, to catastrophe. The elucidation of world affairs surrounding us can come only from the concerted efforts of science, politics, art and literature. Even so, any work of art, even if its subject matter only pinpoints a partial aspect of a global problem, must make visible the ethics and intellectual attitude that distinguish a communist."<sup>15</sup>

#### Party-mindedness and the Critical Element

The prerequisite for a realistic literary absorption and party-minded esthetic evaluation of any cutouts of GDR reality are a writer's conformity and inherent ties with the birth and growth of our workers and farmers power. A whole number of prose works have artistically compressed the beginnings of our road and the experiences garnered thereby. Authors like Horst Bastian, Erik Neutsch, Max Walter Schulz, Benito Wogatzki, to mention a few, have created works placing our own history under scrutiny, without pathos and realistically. This literary extraction concretely indicates where we are in the realization of socialist ideals and how far we still have to go. An artist's party-minded vision is confirmed at least in two ways: Our socialist state is understood as an historic accomplishment and the outcome of great efforts by the working masses, its resolute protection being affirmed, without any reservation, as a class duty. Second, this great effort of construction, historic in dimension, is made comprehensible as the outcome of organization behind the united workers class and its allies, with the leadership role of the party given literary treatment as the decisive impulse.

This intrinsic relatedness we are asking for must by no means be confused with any uncritical or euphemistic attitude toward reality. This conformity in principle with the goals and values of socialism also implies a critical stance that accounts for the dialectics between the ideal and reality.

A socialist author's basic ideological and philosophic position is most clearly revealed by how in his literary work he comes to grips with contradictions and conflicts within real socialism. The concern of his party-minded evaluation of ordinary reality lies in activating the reader to take part in independent and responsible thought and action.

About this, Herbert Otto has said: "About impediments one simply has to write in such a way that socialist impulses will arise from it, and about the beautiful and the sublime, in a way that no smugness and complacency enter into the pride in what has been accomplished; about bad habits, so that one gladly takes leave of them, that the reader becomes awake to and critical of any kind of habituation, intolerant to standstill and encrustation, more questioning, sensitive, reflective than he used to be."<sup>16</sup>

Through an accurate artistic exploration of real processes in ordinary socialist life the reality content is growing, and so is the power of persuasion in socialist literature. That also applies to esthetically coming to grips with manifestations contradicting socialist morality such as egoism, greed, philistinism, hypocrisy, indifference to social concerns, a poor work attitude, cynicism and heartlessness. Not the acerbity of a critique is the criterion for the party-mindedness of a work of art but the position from which it is leveled and the direction in which it goes.

A socialist writer's sense of political responsibility is indicated by how he criticizes deficiencies and impediments. There are enough examples in our literature for how correct the observation is "that, when proceeding from the solid positions of socialism, there can be no taboos in the field of art and literature."<sup>17</sup>

"We have always championed an art borne by party-mindedness, ties with the people and a rich content of socialist ideas, which is rooted, and has effects, in the life of the workers class and all the people, and which is 'needed,' loved and understood by the people."<sup>18</sup> Our resolute policy of peace and socialism, of boosting our economic efficiency, on which further progress depends in all fields, under the difficult conditions for our struggle in the 1980's, needs an enormous increase in awareness and creativity, to which decisively to contribute our artistic culture is called upon.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.
2. Anna Seghers, "Ueber Kunstwerk und Wirklichkeit" (The Work of Art and Reality), I, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1970, p 137.
3. Ibid., p 117.

4. Cf., i.a., "Parteilichkeit und Volksverbundenheit" (Party-mindedness and Alliance With the People), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972; "Zur Theorie des sozialistischen Realismus" (On the Theory of Socialist Realism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974; "Einfuehrung in den sozialistischen Realismus" (Introduction to Socialist Realism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975; "Der sozialistische Realismus in der Literatur" (Socialist Realism in Literature), Bibliographical Institute, Leipzig, 1979.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Parteiorganisation und Parteiliteratur" (Party Organization and Party Literature), "Werke" (Works), Vol 10, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 31.
6. Ibid., p 33.
7. Johannes R. Becher, "Bemuehungen" (Efforts), II, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, p 438.
8. Hermann Kant, "Die Verantwortung des Schriftstellers in den Kaempfen unserer Zeit. VIII. Schriftstellerkongress der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Referat und Diskussionen" (The Author's Responsibility in the Struggles of Our Time--Eighth GDR Writers Congress--Speech and Discussions), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1979, p 24.
9. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Successfully Being Implemented," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between the Party and the Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 54.
10. Erik Neutsch, "Fast die Wahrheit. Ansichten zu Kunst und Literatur" (Almost the Truth--Views on Art and Literature), Tribuene publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 72.
11. Kurt Hager, "The Academy and Socialist Culture," SINN UND FORM, No 3, 1980, p 512.
12. "Knowing What Has Been, Understanding What Is, and Comprehending What Will Be-- A Talk With Guenter Goerlich," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 August 1980, p 4.
13. Hans Koch, "Function and Effectiveness of Literature and Art in the Formation of a Marxist-Leninist Image of the World, in the Forming of Communist Ideals and Value Concepts," "Literaturunterricht und kommunistische Erziehung der Schu-  
jugend" (Literary Instruction and Communist Education of School Youth), VEB Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 9.
14. "Of the Second Birth of Dr Kippenberg--Talk With Dieter Noll," SONNTAG, No 8, 1979, p 6.
15. "Hiroshima and the Strength of Our Argumentation--Talk With Konrad Wolf," SONNTAG, No 46, 1979, p 3.
16. Herbert Otto, "VIII. Schriftstellerkongress . . .," op. cit., p 213.
17. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p. 53
18. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p. 150



HAGER'S PAPER ON TASKS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 190-194

[Report by Dr Erwin Gutzmann, sector chief, and Dr Werner Szewczyk, political researcher, SED Central Committee: "Social Sciences Facing New Tasks." A translation of the 'Central Research Plan of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences, 1981-85' and of an SED commentary is published in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 23-64]

[Text] On 18 December 1980, social scientists, secretaries of the SED bezirk managements and of party managements in universities and colleges, and representatives of research institutions and publishing houses, held a conference in Berlin to discuss the tasks and far-reaching guidelines resulting from the Central Research Plan of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences, 1981-85, issued by the SED Central Committee Politburo, and for the further preparations for the Tenth SED Congress. The conference reflected the GDR social scientists' resolve to apply their science effectively as a theoretical and political-ideological tool of the working class and its party and to contribute through new scientific data to the resolution of issues in social development maturing in the 1980's and to the further deepening of socialist consciousness among all through persuasively propagating our Marxist-Leninist theory on a high level.

SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Comrade Kurt Hager, in his speech on the topic "Social Sciences Facing New Tasks," has explained the many different new theoretical questions resulting from the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and from the struggle for safeguarding peace under the conditions of sharper international class conflict as well as the higher requirements placed thereby on all the work done by the social scientists. This has been corroborated: Our revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice exist in inseparable unity. Marxism-Leninism is the indispensable basis for our party's work. "It has clearly defined the direction and goal of our struggle--the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and creating the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. That goal could as little be reached without constant theoretical work and a thorough appropriation of the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and without a profound understanding of the party policy, as without the active daily struggle by all party members and candidates for implementing our program."\*

\*Kurt Hager, "Die Gesellschaftswissenschaften vor neuen Aufgaben" (Social Sciences Facing New Tasks), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 8. All further page references refer to that brochure.

## Basic Issues of State and Revolution

The speaker said it was a first-rank task for the social scientists to pay great attention to continued research on the role of the party, the socialist state and the revolutionary processes and resolutely to defend the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution against any revisionist attacks while creatively advancing it further by generalizing on it by the insights gathered in the GDR and the whole international communist movement.

With reference to historical facts it was shown that only a Marxist-Leninist party is in the position rigorously to fight for the interests of the workers class and the other working people and to lend a direction and target, and give strength and success, to their struggle for power and their constructing a new, socialist society. "The strength of the party lies not only in its ideological and organizational cohesiveness on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It at the same time also lies in the firm bonds with the people." (p 20) The constantly reconfirmed experience of the GDR citizens that the party is there for the people and that its consistent peace policy and the course of the main task serve the well-being of the people turns out to be an ever more important source of strength for the actions of the working people.

In resolutely implementing the Marxist-Leninist realization that strengthening the power of the workers class is prerequisite to securing and extending the socialist revolution and to the broad development of democracy, our party policy is directed at the all-round strengthening of the socialist workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Never, at no time has our party allowed the power of the workers class to be touched. Without workers and farmers power--as all experience in the struggle by the revolutionary workers movement, our own included, has demonstrated--no socialist society was created anywhere, working class interests were realized nowhere, and can there be any socialism." (p 21)

That calls for insuring the reliable protection of the socialist order and the peaceful life of its citizens and for continuing our party's tried and tested Marxist-Leninist alliance policy.

In the context of further developing and perfecting socialist democracy, tasks of the Central Research Plan were given major attention that far transcend political science and jurisprudence and call for an increasingly more comprehensive approach. The subject party-power-people, Comrade Hager emphasized, must concern all social scientists. Social science studies on the political organization of the developed socialist society have to be strengthened--ranging from studies on the leading role of the party, via the role of the trade union, the other mass organizations, the bloc parties, the National Front, the state as the main instrument in the shaping of the developed socialist society and insuring it against any attacks, all the way to the working together of all elements of political organization under party leadership.

Never yet has anything been moved in history without men in action. That is true particularly of the historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes proceeding in the form of shaping the developed socialist society. For that reason it is most essential to observe the dynamics and historicity of socialism so as to correctly assess what has up to now been accomplished,

the values and achievements of socialism, but also to be able to correlate with that any problems and contradictions that have to be coped with in connection with it. Such historic view at the same time turns out to be a strong weapon in the struggle against any sort of anticommunist slander. "It strengthens us in our conviction that our policy is correct and the cause we serve is triumphant, while it indicates the magnitude of what is to be done today and in the future." (pp 36-37) The topical importance of dealing with history was presented in detail in the speech and discussion contribution by comrade Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, Central Committee member and deputy director of the SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism. Special importance here attaches to research on party and GDR history and to a broader exploration of progressive national traditions.

All successes in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and in the implementation of the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions are the outcome of arduous creative work by millions of people under party leadership. One basic condition for it has been and is our maintaining and reinforcing our unshakeable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the community of socialist countries. "That alliance is our artery, as it were, for which reason we always shall see to it that it is not touched but is further developed and deepened in the sense of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance," (p 26) as Comrade Hager reaffirmed. That is of fundamental importance for us to be able successfully to solve the future tasks the tenth party congress is going to set down and further implement our strategic conception for full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability.

#### Problems of Scientific-Technical Progress

A necessary condition for our successful advance lies in effectively combining the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. The "changes in techniques and in technological processes, and thus also in our economic structure, are going to be further speeded up in the 1980's. The scientific-technical revolution evidently approaches another high point in this decade." (p 28) From this remark Comrade Hager inferred that it also challenges the social sciences in an entirely new way.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress in socialism objectively requires great creativity from the producers. This makes new demands on the personality development of man, his education, his diversity of interests, his conduct and his work attitude. Conforming to these demands, so it was explained, has much to do with the task to combine scientific-technical progress with further social progress and solve the problems arising in that step by step. The speech also oriented us to thoroughly exploring the new ideological and intellectual-cultural problems raised by our scientific-technical progress and obtain more research results that would have the effect that the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the economic utilization of its data be more consciously organized and more effectively managed and planned.

Socialist democracy has an important function in our combining the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. In opposition to bourgeois conceptions that in the course of the development of science and technology the chances diminish for the masses to take part in democratic action and

decision-making, this is what our practice indicates: "Not depending on scientific-technical progress, the existence of real democracy primarily is a question of economic and political power relations." (p 32)

In the discussion of these problems, comrades Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, SED Central Committee candidate and director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC, and Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC, pointed out that more attention should in research be given to the intertwining of economic and social factors in the enforcing of most up-to-date production procedures, the promotion of the content of labor, the molding of the socialist character of labor, and the improvement of working conditions. Decisive in this would be to obtain international top standards at the broadest scope and to raise the scientific-technical production level at the same time, have scientific data become more rapidly effective in production and in sales and thereby increase the rate in which scientific-technical innovations spread. Comrade Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, SED Central Committee member and president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the GDR, recommended we should work out and test strategies on the development and use of our educational potential for scientific-technical progress in a comprehensive fashion, by having scientists of the different disciplines work together with people in the practical fields.

#### Economic Growth and the Performance Principle

In connection with the rapid performance improvement our country needs, Comrade Hager indicated essential demands arising from it for social science research. Addressing the question of economic growth, which in international discussions usually is posed in a most abstract manner, he emphasized: "If we are talking about economic growth we do not mean 'growth per se, 'growth at any price,' but planned growth, for which the questions of for whom, through what, and with which means and targets play an important role. Socialism can only be a growth and performance society in a well understood sense of our socialist principles." (p 33) The growing well-being of the people and its culture and the way of life of all members of society are principally dependent on the development level of the productive forces attained, the degree of maturity in the production relations and the quality of the social and individual, material and intellectual living conditions of men based on them.

Under the changed and further changing economic reproduction conditions, an economic performance improvement depends more and more on greater efficiency in public work. Therefore--main speakers and discussion speakers all emphasized--a penetrating investigation of ways to greater effectiveness is a cardinal problem to economic science research. Thereby it makes its special contribution to the further implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. It was demonstrated in this context that a better use of the performance principle conforms with the working people's very own interests, as higher effectiveness and a higher grade of labor ever more perceptibly are for their own benefit as they steadily improve the material and cultural standard of living.

Comrades Helmut Koziolk and Otto Reinhold during the discussion explained important tasks to the solution of which the social scientists will have to make an essential contribution in years to come. Greater attention is required for the qualitative



economic growth factors. The interrelations between socio-scientific-technical progress, the material-technical base and the boosting of labor productivity must continue to be thoroughly analyzed. The focal point in research on the socialization process should be placed on the further development of the combines with the aim of making them more efficient. Also those conditions should more comprehensively be disclosed under which live labor can become still more effective.

### Tasks in the Ideological Struggle

The supreme precept of our time is the preservation of peace because the international situation remains complicated and dangerous due to the course of U.S. imperialism and NATO opposing detente and peaceful coexistence. In view of the further changes in the power ratio in favor of socialism and to the deepening of the general crisis in capitalism at an unprecedented rate, monopoly capital is seeking a way out of its instable situation through increased political reaction inside and greater aggressiveness outside. This remark was followed up in the speech by the demonstration that a further strengthening of socialism and the rising combination of the three main revolutionary currents in our era are powerful enough to frustrate imperialism's peace-threatening designs.

The historic defeats of imperialism have strengthened its drive to halt the forward march of socialism, the national liberation movement and the international workers movement. Its policy objective is to stop another positive change in the world situation in favor of socialism and peace through arms escalation, the kindling of antimunist and anti-Soviet hysteria, and the igniting of international conflicts. In the ideological field therefore the NATO course is being pushed ahead with its mobilization and confrontation against a continued detente policy and against the Warsaw Pact states' proposals for a recovery of the international climate.

In imperialist ideology, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism is and remains the most important element. This is, as Comrade Hager in taking issue with current forms of anticommunism demonstrated, "the most reactionary and aggressive basic feature, both in its political function and its theoretical content, the connecting link and above all, the main content of imperialist ideology." (p 14) He therefore said it was a task of historic magnitude to crack down seriously on the diverse varieties of anticommunism and the whole system of anticommunist lies.

Among the counterrevolutionary, antisocialist objectives of imperialism is the "triple plan of 'erosion' of socialism--i.e., 'preparation-reformation-restoration,' this plan is directed not only against Poland but is the central to be used to erode the whole socialist community of states." (p 18) Calculable also is the effort made by the imperialist bourgeoisie to unite in a broad anticommunist front, and thereby use in the struggle against real socialism, all the different political-ideological currents, like social reformism, revisionism and leftist radicalism, and to integrate them solidly within overall imperialist strategy. "Therefore an effective and successful confrontation with the revisionist, reformist and 'leftist' violent attacks against real socialism is a firm component of the Marxist-Leninist offensive in ideas against imperialism. That also includes the confrontation with the [p 12] and ideology of the faking leaders, who have, recently in particular, reiterated their full conformity with the U.S. and NATO course directed against the Soviet Union and the socialist community." (p 19)

in the wake of the tidal wave of counterrevolutionary activities we also see a great number of revisionist and opportunist attacks on the Marxist-Leninist doctrines, an aggressive fight against which is a permanent task for the social scientists. In this context Comrade Hager disclosed the class content of so-called pluralistic socialism which plays a special role at present among reformist and revisionist models and theories. That theory "proclaims an 'ideological pluralism' which would have to lead to some 'organizational pluralism' and end up in a 'political pluralism' in the exercise of power." It opposes "the leading role of the working class party and the political organization of socialist society, being a socialistically embellished conception on the model of Western bourgeois pseudodemocracy." (p 22) Thus it becomes especially apparent in the present class conflict that strengthening the political, economic and military power of socialism is the crucial guarantee for safeguarding peace and for continued social progress.

Describing the increasing role and the political and ideological function of bourgeois social science in the imperialist counterattack on social progress, Comrade Hager pointed to the swelling of the basic conservative current and the growing conservative influences in bourgeois ideology. In connection with the noticeable politization of law this also goes hand in hand with the spread of vitalistic and irrationalistic conceptions that are misrepresenting the imperialist crisis situation as if it were a crisis in humanity.

Responding to concrete questions about imperialism research and the confrontation with bourgeois ideology, comrades Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics, and Prof Dr Manfred Baur, director of the Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences, in particular demonstrated that confrontation with the different variants of bourgeois ideology always had to serve the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, especially that of the FRG, and at the same time had to make an effective contribution to the Marxist-Leninist offensive, the party's political strategy. It is a matter of thoroughly unmasking the ills and crimes of imperialism and the inflammatory tirades of anti-communism, working out constructive Marxist-Leninist answers for topical questions of the social movement, and propagating our world-outlook and the real facts about the successful development of socialism with great mass effect. That calls for more and more interdisciplinary work based on the unity of components in Marxism-Leninism and for fruitful cooperation.

The conference also discussed questions in social science methods. Long-term research planning in terms of main research directions has proven itself--it was unanimously thought. That is the way we shall continue. The performance improvement required for the social sciences demands great attention for improving the quality of research and its scientific direction, for a substantive streamlining of the potential, improvement in scientific method and education and communist training, and for proper cadre assignment.

That was taken up in the discussion especially by comrades Prof Dr Gerhard Engel, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs, Prof Dr Dieter Klein, assistant dean for social sciences at Humboldt University in Berlin, and Prof Dr Werner Kalweit, vice-president of the GDR Academy of Sciences. In going back to the speech, they conveyed valuable experiences and guidelines on the development of science debate and of a creative work atmosphere, for research planning and interdisciplinary research and for the systematic training and communist education of an up-and-coming scientists generation. All social scientists are responsible to systematically implementing the demanding tasks of the Central Research Plan on a high theoretical plain and of the greatest social effectiveness.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### STATISTICS ON GDR CLASS STRUCTURE PRESENTED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81 pp 202-204

['Facts and Figures' report by Dr Joachim Freitag, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Class and Social Structure in the GDR']

[Text] The social rapprochement among classes and strata is a historically inevitable, important and lengthy process. This process will advance through the perfecting of the socialist production relations, the upward development of the urban and rural productive forces, the perfecting of socialist democracy, the elevation of the educational level, the increase of mental work in the reproduction process, and the further improvement in working and living conditions. (SED Program)

The successes achieved in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, especially in implementation of the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions, also fashion the changes in the class and social structure and their ripening process. With the birth and growth of the workers and farmers power, a new type of socially structured society arose which, under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, is marked by the uniformity in the basic social attitude of the working people in all classes and strata toward the socialist ownership in the means of production and the socialist state, the uniformity of basic social interests and social goals, and the growing political-moral unity of the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers, of the socialist intelligentsia and all working people.

As the largest class and, due to its close connection with material production, the most highly organized one, the workers class became the main political and social force. Led by its party, and on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, there is this rapprochement going on between the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the new, socialist intelligentsia which was, essentially, formed by them and grew out of them, and all working people. The quality and intensity of

the social relations, the comradely and creative cooperation among the working people of all classes and strata, continually increased thanks to a purposeful alliance policy. The process of rapprochement between the classes and strata that is going on is governed by a step-by-step reduction of social differentiations, an increased multiplicity and variety of interests, needs and human relations and activities at work and leisure, and a growing number of basic features in the activities in public life they have in common.

To understand these qualitative changes in social structure one must first understand their quantitative proportions. In this, the great speed in which the educational and training level has gone up in the areas of material production deserves special consideration. Whereas the number of university and technical school cadre per 1,000 working persons in the socialist economy rose between 1961 and 1979 from 60.8 to 183.3 (an increase rate of 201.5 percent), the number per 1,000 working persons in industry at the same period rose from 33.7 to 115.5 (an increase rate of 242.7 percent) and in agriculture and forestry from 21.1 to 85.2 (an increase rate of 303.8 percent).

Working Persons (in percentage, and in proportion to total number--including apprentices)

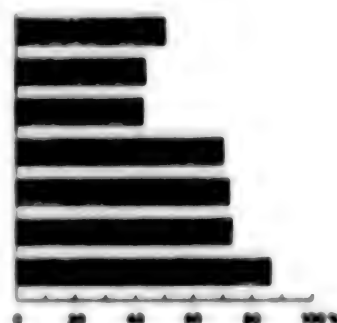
Group	1970	1979*
Workers and employees	84.5	89.4
LPC members	8.7	6.5
PGH members	3.1	1.8
Private craftsmen	1.7	1.3
Other working persons	2.1	1.0
Working persons, without apprentices, in 1,000	7,769.3	8,183.9

\*Provisional figures

The use ratio in our public labor assets (proportion of working persons, including persons in training, to total population at a working age) has risen year after year. So many more women are now employed and the proportion of nonworkers has gone down so much, that these former sources no longer constitute a noteworthy labor reserve pool.

Proportion of Women in Selected Economic Areas, 1979

Economy at large  
Industry  
Agriculture and Forestry  
Post and Telecommunications  
Trade  
Education and Culture  
Health and Social Affairs

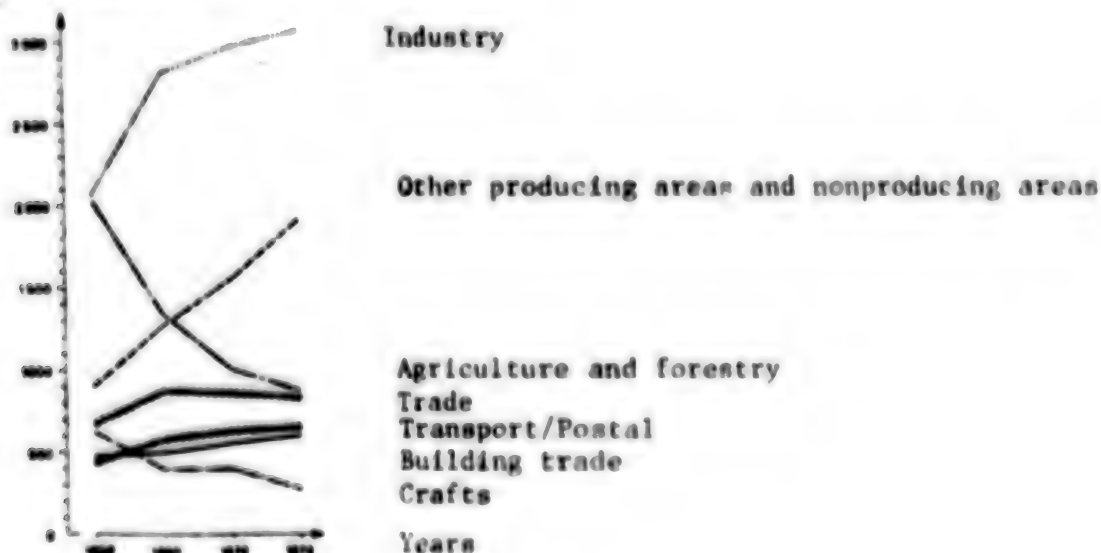




Some 87.8 percent of the female population able to work is in fact working or preparing for work. That amounts to 4.1 million working women and 600,000 apprenticed girls or women at working age. The proportion of working women to the overall working population has constantly risen since 1970 and now comes to 50.1 percent.

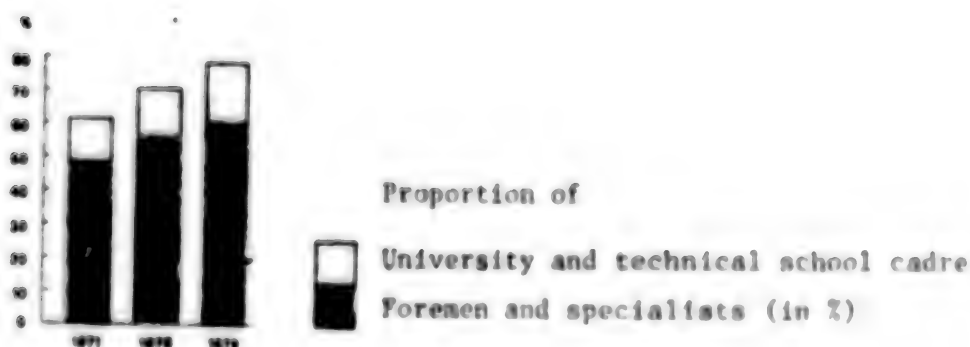
The by far largest proportion of working persons goes to industry, even if that growth has visibly diminished in recent years. The reduction of the proportion of working persons in agriculture and forestry is directly related to a modern, highly intensive agriculture having developed in the GDR.

1,000 working persons



The changes in the nature of labor, the constantly growing potential of our social labor capacity, become apparent in our working people's highly qualified status.

Training Structure of the Working People in the Socialist Economy



In 1979, the economy employed 1,366,800 university and technical school cadre, 605,100 more than in 1971. For master foremen and specialists the figure was 4,499,100, that was 1,278,400 above 1971. From 1976, by means of scientific labor organization, 878,000 jobs in industry, the building trade and transport were newly set up or reorganized. Work hazards were eliminated for 175,000 working people.

#### University and Technical School Graduates

In thousands



More than one third of the university and technical school graduates between 1971 and 1979 was trained in the natural and technical sciences fields. The university women ratio has risen from 35.4 to 48.2 percent since 1970, that of women in technical schools, from 48.6 to 71.3 percent.

The GDR today has a modern agriculture which is becoming more and more industrialized. At present, 972 crop production LPG's and 379 cooperative departments and mixed crop production facilities take care of almost 92 percent of the available farm acreage themselves. That comes to an average of a nearly 5,000-hectare farm acreage. In 1979, 2,944 animal production LPG's had 422,617 members. The proportion of animal products coming out of industrialized animal production facilities lies now around 20 percent. In parallel with the process of the full development of cooperative property, the cooperative and interlinking degree between the two forms of socialist property in agriculture is constantly growing.

#### Training Status in Socialist Agriculture (as of September 1979)

	1965	1970	1975	1979
Total manpower	1 014 771	686 624	792 969	776 903
Of it, fully trained:				
University	5 264	7 438	11 783	15 794
Technical school	21 140	28 313	37 656	44 268
Master foremen	32 020	47 136	52 333	51 834
Specialists	190 581	427 923	522 711	670 922
Total of fully trained in percent	24.5	57.6	78.8	87.9

The intelligentsia is growing especially fast in terms of numbers. It is recruited mainly from the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers. Above-average growth can be found mainly in the producing areas. Whereas in 1970, some 16.7 percent of the university cadre was working in industry, the proportion had risen to 23 percent in 1979. The proportion of technical school cadre rose by 27.6 percent in industry from 1970 to 1979. The proportion of university cadre per 1,000 working persons in industry rose by 593 percent from 1961 to 1979 and

thus rose faster than the corresponding proportion of technical school cadre, which went up by 288 percent in the same period. With the younger generation taking on jobs, the proportion of women in the intelligentsia also has gone up considerably.

In the last 4 years the number of tradesmen and craftsmen for the first time did not diminish any further. That has to do with the favorable opportunities our socialist society provides for them to use their capacities and abilities in the interest of society.

Craftsmen and tradesmen are making an important contribution to expanding services and repair services for the public. In 1979, their services came to a value of M 4.3 billion. Services and repairs for the public rose by 138.7 percent in terms of value, compared to 1975. The PGH proportion of services rose from 38.3 percent in 1975 to 40.3 percent in 1979.

#### Craftsmen and Tradesmen (1979)

Group	1,000	As Percentage of working population
Private craftsmen	113,7	1.3
PGH members	152,2	1.8
Complementary and commission traders	26,1	0.3
Private wholesale and retail traders	12,4	0.1

The purpose of socialism, to do everything for the well-being of the people, on behalf of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, is being accomplished through the creative work of all classes and strata, which have already produced great achievements in the shaping of the developed socialist society. That at once forms the premise for further advances under the purposeful leadership by the workers class and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, the SED.

5885

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 2, Feb 81 signed to press 12 Jan 81  
'Resumes' addendum

Growth of Performance--A High Demand on Party Work

[Summary of feature article on 'Economic Productive Capacity and Conscious Action,' by Dr Hans Modrow, economist, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Dresden Bezirk Management; pp 114-119]

[Text] The great people's initiative in preparation of the 10th party congress produces outstanding results in Dresden Bezirk also. Proceeding from exemplary initiatives and rich experiences in party work, this article examines: Which causes are behind our positive balance-sheet? How is the party's leadership activity organized, what is the role of the communists in the work collectives, what sort of climate has to be created in the party organizations so that the requirements for the 1980's are clearly understood and the necessary inferences are drawn for a higher rate of economic growth?

Successful Competition in Socialist Agriculture

[Summary of feature article on 'Economic Productive Capacity and Conscious Action,' by Margarete Mueller; pp 120-124]

[Text] Through impressive status reports, the co-operative farmers and rural workers have given accounts of their work and assigned new and higher targets to themselves in the 1981 competition. In particular it is a matter of making more efficient use of the soil and of funds through a broad application of science and technology, reducing costs and obtaining increasing and stable yields. Competition prospers if conducted according to Leninist principles, all get drawn into its preparation, conduct and analysis, and is based on the conscious actions of all.



## Efficient Construction Through Acceleration of Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of feature article on 'Economic Productive Capacity and Conscious Action,' by Wolfgang Junker, member, SED Central Committee; minister for construction industry; pp 125-133. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "New Requirements for Building Industry Analyzed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] GDR construction workers are facing the requirements of the 1980's through new initiatives. What are these new requirements? How can the experiences we have had be further developed and, on their basis, the effectiveness of scientific-technical work be enhanced? What is the significance to this of building in terms of an energy economy, the struggle for a higher materials economy? What requirements result from there for a more highly skilled management and planning in science and technology?

## Chief Problem in Safeguarding Peace

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Krolkowski, member, SED Central Committee; state secretary, first deputy minister for foreign affairs; pp 163-168]

[Text] The Madrid conference of the CSCE states has entered its crucial phase. The point is to prepare resolutions that lend new impulses to the detente process, are aimed at supplementing political by military detente, serve the development of mutually advantageous interstate cooperation based on terms of equality, and thus contribute to solving the main task of our time, the stabilization of peace. The article presents the constructive and realistic proposals by the socialist states for solving these tasks and confronts the anti-detente attitude of the most reactionary NATO circles.

## Thaelmann's Party in Struggle for Work and Bread

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 177-183]

[Text] The KPD was the only party in the Weimar Republic which, in bourgeois society already, advocated all working people's right to work and bread and that unemployment be forced back. Its work procurement plan, published 50 years ago, is the most important document in a number of already previously submitted demands of its constructive policy for the immediate, everyday interests of the working people, which it always considered an inseparable element of its struggle for the revolutionary transformation of all society.

## FRG Armament at Expense of Social Services

[Summary of article by Fritz Rische, chairman, Economic Policy Commission, Executive Committee, (West) German Communist Party (DKP); abridged version reprinted from Frankfurt/Main MARXISTISCHE BLAETTER in German, No 4, 1980; EINHEIT pp 184-189]

[Text] An old experience of the workers movement is that armament and a domestic and foreign policy aimed at war, aggression and expansion are bound to have devastating consequences for all socioeconomic life. Proceeding from a thorough analysis of government armament expenditures by FRG imperialism, it is being shown that military expenditures literally devour the social domains and keep on tearing vast segments out of the so-called social security network. Only in peace and by arms reduction can the funds be made available that are prerequisite to improved social benefits.

5885

CSO: 2300

# LEADERSHIP OF SOCCER FEDERATION CRITICIZED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 12 Feb 81 p 21

[Article by Anghel Paraschiv]

[Text] To the editors of FLACARA: The text below was turned over to the editors of SPORTUL for publication. This paper's editor-in-chief and I agreed that he would let me know by Tuesday if he was going to publish it or not. He did not let me know. The content of the material answers this silence. In case you think it timely to publish these opinions, I, of course, will assume full responsibility. Thank you.

The "opinions" recently expressed in the name of the FRF [Romanian Soccer Federation] by certain persons and published by SPORTUL as well as some facts which recently took place bring me to return after a long period of time to some decisions we had rejected--that of bringing before public sports opinion several problems regarding the way that soccer activity is being led.

Information regarding the convocation of the Committee of the FRF appeared Friday, 6 February in SPORTUL. In stupefaction I read the formulation of the first point on the agenda: "Report on fulfillment of the goals forecast in the plan for development for 1980 and presentation of the goals for 1981."

Nearly 3 years ago, the federal committee had adopted a document entitled "Program for the development and improvement of soccer activity for the 1978-1980 period." Why was this program put into oblivion? Why is not the situation of the entire program presented to the federal committee since it is an integral part of the general program for development of the sports movement established in conformity with the directives of the party leadership?

For those who know the working style of the soccer federation, the way in which the National Council for Physical Education and Sports [CNEFS] works with the soccer federation--and I am among them--it is clear that an open approach to the big problems in the program mentioned is being evaded due to the reason that it would be rather uncomfortable for these organs, and particularly for certain persons in their leadership, to answer specifically and clearly regarding why many of the goals established have not been fulfilled and why matters in soccer are going the way they are. I shall refer to some of the many reasons in the following.

When the reader sees the title "soccer federation" in articles published by SPORTUL, of course he thinks of a well-known organ with clear structures, with well-defined responsibilities and rights and with a statute which permits it to exercise the duties

given to it and to fulfill the tasks given to it. But what really is the Romanian Soccer Federation? What is the federal committee? From the beginning, to speak openly, the federal committee is an organ which has not met for nearly 3 years and whose decisions, taken in May 1978, have not been fulfilled or which have been violated in precisely their basic points. There also is a federal bureau formed generally of people with responsibilities in various sectors of activity and with experience in soccer, who passionately devote the greater part of their free time to this public activity. But what really is the federal bureau? It is an organ which makes decisions which later are cancelled, either through failure to fulfill them or through modification of them by the paid apparatus of the CNEFS assigned to work within the FRF. This is the essence, this is the starting point in a principled and honest analysis of the way in which soccer activity is being carried out in our country.

At the May 1978 plenum, the report presented by the federal bureau stated elegantly and with much approval of the facts which were much harder the following: "In the spirit of respect for the truth, we also should mention that the way in which the federation has carried out its duties and direct responsibilities belonging to it has suffered due to certain demonstration of petty tutelage from the national council."

But an answer also came to the above critical observation at the end of this plenum's work. I quote: "Having arrived at the problem of autonomy, it is necessary to make a specification in connection with the CNEFS-FRF relationship or, more precisely in connection with the way in which the CNEFS understands how it should lead the specialty federation. On the strength of the basic principles of our socialist democracy, which is broadening and deepening at all levels, we are for a broad autonomy of action for the federation with regard to the uninterrupted opportunity for it to establish the most appropriate solutions for achieving the goals for soccer established by the party, the decisions taken in light of them and the goals of the leaders of the sports movement or of the federation's leadership itself together with the CNEFS. We are not for excessive centralization or for petty tutelage. The federation will have broad opportunities to take action independently, including in the use of its own budget. But, in conformity with the principles of democratic centralism and the duties with which our party and state have invested the National Council for Physical Education and Sports, we do not reject our control, as perhaps some comrades wish; on the contrary, we will strengthen it substantially and we will give effective aid to precise fulfillment of the programs of measures established jointly."

Let us see what has happened. With regard to control and aid it is enough for us to mention that during the nearly 3 years the comrades from the CNEFS leadership did not participate in any meeting of the federal bureau in order to hear what the members of the federal bureau were thinking and, as they had promised and as they are obligated to do, to aid in clearing up the problems concerning the federation and in adopting the best measures. Not one meeting in nearly 3 years, if we do not count one meeting where the composition of the national soccer team was put to a vote (so that the trainers would not have that concern any more) and another meeting which actually was not statutory and where they discussed penalizing Dobrin. That is it for nearly 3 years. Actually, substantial control, substantial help. With regard to autonomy, let the clubs speak for themselves.

Compared with the situation prior to that particular plenum, petty tutelage later became more emphatic, with the authority of the federal bureau's decisions being reduced to their total disappearance. In principle, the CNEFS leadership comes out for consultation and collaboration with the voluntary aktiv of the federation and the federal bureau, but in practice it is not proceeding in this spirit.



The comrades from the sports leadership got used to working in particular with the activists from the federation, whom they call and make execute orders--as employees paid by the CNEFS--which in many cases run counter to the collective decisions of the federal bureau. This practice of the CNEFS leadership actually has led to dividing the federation aktiv in two: on one hand, the voluntary aktiv--members of the bureau and of various commissions of the federation--and, on the other, the paid apparatus which does not carry out the decisions of the federal bureau but the orders given by the CNEFS leadership. No matter what you say, this practice in the end leads to a serious reduction in the role which should be played by the public aktiv in the collective and democratic leadership of the federal forum, coming in total contradiction to the spirit in which our party conceives of the organization of sports activity and the social activity in general in our country. The discussions of the CNEFS leadership with the federation president have been very rare and on basic matters, for which reason I state that these discussions never were comfortable for the CNEFS leadership. Such an unnatural situation estranged many of the bureau members and public activists and their interest diminished toward the work they were called on to do, while the federation president actually was hindered from carrying out his responsibility. Too many cases in which the CNEFS leadership gave orders to the paid apparatus to adopt one measure or another, without consulting the federation president and the federal bureau, put the president and other members of the federal bureau in a situation of answering for other people's mistakes which, of course, is impermissible.

The CNEFS leadership is too little concerned with the study and knowledge of the phenomena in our soccer and, in particular, with adopting long-range measures, in exchange being concerned exclusively with petty aspects, getting uselessly and harmfully involved in minor matters, substituting for the federation--more than once as a result of subjective interventions from some clubs--and this is not capable of leading to a growth in the authority and responsibility of the forum called on to lead soccer activity directly, under CNEFS guidance.

Even in the fall of 1979 I presented in writing to the leadership of the CNEFS the problems in which the federation needed to be helped and I suggested that some of them, which exceed CNEFS competence, should be presented to the party and state leadership to receive the appropriate indications. Essentially, by this I was requesting that a well-founded analysis be undertaken of the state of affairs in the federation, clubs and associations and I was proposing a number of measures, including new regulations, which had become absolutely necessary to make a healthy climate for soccer and to bring a general and marked growth in responsibility at all levels. The proposals had in view the compilation and adoption of a professional and social statute for the trainer, a statute for the soccer player which was clear as well as a clear definition of the relations between clubs and the federation, the adoption of long-range measures together with competent state organs, in order to create better conditions to disseminate soccer among the children and teenagers. As we see, these were intentions to give factual answers to a number of painful problems plaguing our soccer for years on end, solutions much awaited by soccer players and technicians or leaders of soccer as well as by the public-at-large who loves this sport. Of course, nobody claims that these were the best proposals. But why were they not placed into discussion? Only after the CNEFS had its attention drawn repeatedly to them did it promise to discuss them and it even showed a gesture of interest in them by drawing up a commission (among others, there also was somebody from the bowling federation on it!) to study them. However, as practice shows, when you want to bury an idea or a proposal, you create some additional "study commissions" and the rest is "resolved" by itself. The fact is that not even until today do we know what the "commission" did and, clearly, no discussion took place. I continually was advised to be patient, to understand that the problems are "resolved" "in a package" but one by one, "because that is how the administration works."

How "receptive" the CNEFS leadership is to the proposals and observations presented to it also results from the fact that, after I criticized this style of work at a meeting with the sports aktiv in which a member of the RCP CC Political Executive Committee also participated, asserting that at the present the CNEFS leadership is not mastering the problems basic to soccer and after the CNEFS leadership had to agree with the critical observations at the end of this meeting and promised to take measures to correct them, instead of doing this the comrades in the case moved to "reprisals" against the federation.

I also will refer in brief to other examples which prove how "autonomous" the federation is and how much authority the federal bureau enjoys in decisions. In the summer of 1979, the CNEFS leadership decided, groundlessly and unrealistically, to change the system of promotion and demotion in the A and B divisions. In the press it appeared that this was a decision of the FRF bureau. Not true! Let us also remember the detail that a measure for the future--thus, one which was not of urgency--was taken fast, while the president of the federation was gone; during that period he was out of the country, sent by SCINTEIA on a documentation mission. What is essential, however, is the following aspect. At the federation's insistence, the particular measures, already decided by the CNEFS leadership, still were placed into discussion of the federal bureau which, knowing the facts, was against them. Despite the fact that it was informed, the CNEFS leadership did not take into account the opinions of the federation's bureau and decided that the measures should be published as they had indicated. As we know, just several days later they reconsidered this decision, while the press contained information which said that application of the particular measures would be delayed further in order to consult the clubs and public sports opinion. This is not true: This was not the reason. Those hasty measures were not cancelled by the CNEFS leadership, which did not feel like making self-criticism, or by the federation, which did not have the right to cancel them because they had been decided by the CNEFS, but by the order of the party leadership, which rightfully understood their unfairness.

Another example. An article entitled "The Road Suits the Trainer Well. That is the Concept of Ion Ionescu, Blujdea and Others" appeared in SPORTUL on 25 June 1980. The article gave many examples illustrating a phenomenon which was serious and alarming in its consequences--the trainers' instability. Among other things, it said: "In this regard one could give the example of Ion Ionescu who, in a single season, passed by three teams (Gloria Buzau, Petrolul Ploiesti and, for a moment, Rapid Bucharest), establishing a rarely encountered record but one which was unacceptable." And, further: "It is true that often the FRF leadership was informed of this situation, criticized them, but IN PRACTICE (author's emphasis), did not take one specific measure to bring stability to the trainers to put a stop to the escapades (not without interest, of those trainers whose minds were not on training. The FRF has the AUTHORITY (my emphasis) to require the clubs (why just the clubs?)(editor's note) to respect their contractual duties (for at least 3 years), to bring order to such an important problem for raising the quality of our soccer." Thus, in the opinion of SPORTUL, the newspaper of the National Council for Physical Education and Sport, the soccer federation has the authority to decide and to bring order to this problem. What kind of authority does it have? Let's see. Proceeding from the facts, which are well-known by all those close to soccer, that many clubs "overnight" and without having very well-founded motives, rejected the services of some trainers, while some trainers, also without well-based motives, left the teams they were training, which led to a situation in which the trainers who have been carrying out their activity on an uninterrupted basis for more than 2 years for the same team can be counted on your fingers, the federal bureau decided that no trainer could be changed until overall regulation and final regulation of the trainer's statutes, regardless of whether the proposal came from

the trainer or from the club without approval of the federal bureau, approval given following a well-based analysis of the reasons for this change. When trainer Ion Ionescu left the Gloria Buzau team, he was called before the federal bureau, which asked that he respect his contract and it required him to return to Buzau. He went back! Someone from the leadership of Buzau sports told me that from the first day he went back to Buzau, Ion Ionescu asked the club for 50,000 lei, in order to give it back to the Petrol club, from which he had received it. That is hard to prove! Meanwhile, persons with responsibilities in Prahova County insistently requested that I agree to I. I.'s transfer to Petrolul. I refused for considerations based on principle and because I did not have the right to violate a decision of the federal bureau. The Prahova County Council of Physical Education and Sports, however, sent a letter to the CNEFS leadership requesting the transfer of trainer I. I. Somebody from the CNEFS leadership--who since he has been in this important job (for many years) insistently demands order, order and more order in soccer--asked what the federation's position was toward this request and was told that the federal bureau was keeping its decision. And what do you think the CNEFS leadership decided? Did it decide to defend the healthy principle which were at the basis of the decision of the federal bureau, to defend order and the spirit of ethics and equity, to put an end to the "escapades" of certain trainers--as SPORTUL expressed it--and to defend the authority of the federation to which the article mentioned referred? No! It approved the transfer of the trainer which had been refused on the guilt of the federal bureau! And SPORTUL reproached the federation that "actually it did not take one specific measure to..." Yet I think that the paper wished to attract the attention of the CNEFS leadership to the incorrect decision it had made but, for reasons which are easy to understand, it approached the matter in a manner for which it deserved the "prize for cleverness."

If this episode, and many others which space does not permit me to refer to, would have been an accident--undesirable, but possible--it would not even have deserved two words of commentary, but it does express a line of behavior of the CNEFS leadership in its relations with the soccer federation which, actually, does not have the latitude to decide anything without advisement of the CNEFS, not even in basic cases where there is flagrant violation of its own regulations.

Repeated advice may be heard from some comrades in the CNEFS leadership regarding the request to introduce order, order and more order into soccer activity but everyday practice is not going in this direction and is going in the opposite direction instead. I think it is the only organ in the country with a responsibility which plays with penalties in such a way as to have become the subject of the most savory jokes. It is known that the penalties given by the federation were aggravated by the CNEFS, with some becoming "life" penalties (one of the more recent examples is Dobrin) and shortly thereafter generally becoming "sweetened" or completely cancelled, again by the CNEFS! Is this kind of practice able to strengthen the climate of seriousness and order which the CNEFS leadership is making an appeal for so often?

The lack of consistency in applying the decisions, concessions, abandoning the standards and principles which have been established, among other things, now shown by the results in the transferring of players. What is occurring right now--players transferred against legal standards, players changing clubs several times in the same season, transactions made behind closed doors outside any kind of control--speaks as clearly as possible about the disorder existing in soccer.

The lack of receptivity and a decision-making spirit, of commitment to a process of enlivening and improving activity in this area has created and is creating very big

difficulties for the development of our soccer. I withdraw from the job of federation president because I found myself in a situation of not even being informed of certain measures the CNEFS leadership was making, finding out about them from information published in SPORTUL. Other presidents of the federation before me were changed following some "undesirable events" (repeated defeats in the interclub European cups, defeats of the national team and so forth). THE CNEFS leadership has decided on all matters for many years and is deciding arbitrarily, ignoring the federation's viewpoint, things go on as they can and the presidents either resign or are changed. And the CNEFS leadership still wants to promote the idea that it is working well with the soccer federation!

When there are successes, everything is done to show--and there is a lot of experience in this regard--that the main merit belongs to the CNEFS leadership, which "took measures, was concerned, mobilized and did..." But what has it not done!? When the defeat makes us all bitter, "the finger of the CNEFS" points accusingly at the players, trainers and the federation.

Leaders of soccer and sports in general come and go. Soccer remains! Let us hope that our soccer--read "the man who plays it"--will become healthy and true.

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